## John Bracegirdle's Psychopharmacon







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## John Bracegirdle's Psychopharmacon

A Translation of Boethius'

De Consolatione Philosophiae

(MS BL Additional 11401)

Edited by

Noel Harold Kaylor, Jr. & Jason Edward Streed

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For

Derek and Rosemary,

with

gratitude and affection



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#### Introduction

### MS BL ADDITIONAL 11401

Early Critical References to the Translation

The Dictionary of National Biography notes that one John Bracegirdle produced a translation of Boethius' De Consolatione Philosophiae, the Psychopharmacon, that bears a very lengthy subtitle: The Mindes Medicine or the Phisicke of Philosophie, contained in five bookes, called the Consolation of Philosophie, compiled by Anicius, Manlius Torquatus Severinus Boethius, in the Time of His Exile and Proscription. This entry in the DNB derives from an earlier entry in the Athenae Cantabrigienses, similar in phrasing, which also credits John Bracegirdle with the authorship of the Psychopharmacon.2

Bracegirdle's translation is a fairly accurate English rendering of the Latin Consolatio, with Latin prose passages translated into blank verse and Latin meters into a variety of metrical forms. The first critical mention of the translation is found in Thomas Warton's History of English Poetry of 1871.3 In a short article of 1892 by Ewald Flügel,4 some short extracts from the translation appear, offering for the first time a printed indication of Bracegirdle's poetic abilities. Concerning Bracegirdle's blank verse, Flügel says:

... certain parts of the translation attain a full poetic power and elegance which permits us to see in Bracegirdle a by-no-means

<sup>2</sup> Athenae Cantabrigienses, vol. 2, 1586-1609, ed. Charles Henry Cooper and Thompson Cooper (Cambridge: Deighton, Bell, & Co., 1861), 430.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Dictionary of National Biography, "John Bracegirdle," vol. 6, ed. Sidney Lee (London: Smith, Elder, & Co., 1899), 142.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Thomas Warton, History of English Poetry from the Twelfth to the Sixteenth Century, vol. 3, ed. W.C. Hazlitt (London: 1871; repr. Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1968), 38-40. <sup>4</sup> Ewald Flügel, "Kleinere Mitteilungen aus Handschriften," Anglia 14 (1892): 499-501.

insignificant Elizabethan poet.<sup>5</sup> [editors' translation from the German]

Friedrich Fehlauer cites these notices by Warton and Flügel in his dissertation of 1908,<sup>6</sup> in which he discusses the extant Consolatio translations into English to about 1800 and briefly mentions some of the more recent ones. He does not claim to have perused the Psychopharmacon itself, but he notes its existence among the other English translations. In 1992, a note on the Bracegirdle translation appeared in The Medieval Consolation of Philosophy: An Annotated Bibliography, in a section devoted to Chaucer's Consolatio translation, the Boece.<sup>7</sup>

#### Ownership of the Manuscript

MS BL Additional 11401, the unique manuscript containing John Bracegirdle's translation, was produced about 1602, and it was probably presented to Thomas Sackville, the translator's patron, in or shortly after that year. At some point, however, it must have been sold by the Sackville estate, because it next appears in the record when it was purchased by the British Museum on July 14, 1838, from Thomas Rodd, the younger, a bookseller at Covent Garden, who had taken over the family's London business from his father in 1821. The manuscript remains today in the collection of the British Library.

#### Description of the Manuscript

The manuscript's cover is of stiff vellum, enclosing paper pages, and it cannot be dated accurately. Watermarks on the manuscript's paper pages, however, permit their dating.<sup>8</sup> The paper for the text of the translation itself was made near Rouen about 1575; paper for three blank pages bound in at the front and at the back of the inscribed text were made in Likhatscheff about 1600; two blank pages that are bound into the manuscript inside the front and back covers, as "cover sheets or end

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Flügel, "Kleinere Mitteilungen," 501.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Friedrich Fehlauer, "Die englischen Übersetzungen von Boethius' De Consolatione Philosophiae," Ph.D. diss., Albertus-Universität zu Königsberg, 1908 (Königsberg: Hartungsche Buchdruckerei, 1908).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Noel Harold Kaylor, Jr., *The Medieval Consolation of Philosophy: An Annotated Bibliography*, Garland Medieval Bibliographies, no. 7 (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1992).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> C.M. Briquet, Les Filigranes: Dictionnaire Historique des Marques du Papier, second edition, vol. 4 (Leipzig: Verlag von Karl W. Hiersenam, 1923), entry numbers 12693 and 12783.

papers," are of more recent origin. The *Psychopharmacon*, transcribed onto such fine, imported paper, was obviously produced as an elegant gift for Thomas Sackville, to whom the work is dedicated, "as a small token of [Bracegirdle's] loyal affection and gratitude."

The pages of the manuscript are 20 x 30.5 cm, and the vellum covers are slightly wider. The translation per se comprises sixty-two pages (124 sides) inscribed front and back, ending on page 62 verso, which is blank on its verso side. Preceding the translation, there are, first, the two cover sheets; then, the three blank sheets produced about 1600; a title page, later numbered in pencil as "1," left blank on its verso side; Bracegirdle's Dedication, later numbered in pencil as "2," also left blank on its verso side; and then five slightly wider sheets, folded at the center, with their outer edges then folded inward toward each other (a total of three parallel folds per sheet) so that the folded width of each of these inserts conforms to the 20 cm width of the other manuscript pages. These five inserted, double pages (numbered in pencil as pages "3" through "12") have been glued along the outer edges of their central creases to bound pages in the manuscript that had been cut down to a width of one centimeter for this purpose. When opened, each of these five fold-out pages reveals an outline or flow-chart summarizing the content of one of the five books of the Consolatio. The translation itself then follows, with its first page numbered in pencil as "13." At the back of the translation, there are three blank pages, corresponding to the three at the front, and two cover sheets, also corresponding to sheets at the front.

#### Peculiarities of the Manuscript

The translation is transcribed by at least two hands, one having produced the blank-verse passages (into which the Boethian prose passages are translated) and another having produced the various rubrics, the Boethian meters (all of which appear in italic), and the frequent italicized words introduced into the blank-verse passages. A third hand, possibly that of Bracegirdle himself, produced the Dedication to Thomas Sackville, the Earl of Dorset, which prefaces the translation, and Bracegirdle's signature (John Bracegirdle, Bacheler in Divinity), is inscribed at the bottom of this Dedication. Evidence signaling the collaboration of two amanuenses (one for non-italic and another for italic elements) is of several distinct varieties. First, certain minor but fairly consistent orthographic practices distinguish the two hands. Second, some rubrics are otherwise inexplicably mislabeled or omitted altogether. Third, within the blank-verse passages, italicized words sometimes vary in size and

position relative to the non-italicized words, indicating that they were probably inserted later into spaces left available by the blank-verse hand. As an example of the confusion potential in this procedure, in Book III, Prose 8, line 1, the blank-verse scribe wrote the first two letters of the final word of that verse, the be of beatitude, but noticing his error, he crossed out the letters; the correctly italicized word was inscribed thereafter in the italic hand. The italicized words, passages, and meters in the manuscript are retained in this edition because they do influence a reading of the translation.

The ink used in the Bracegirdle signature is darker than that used by the scribes of the translation, but it occasionally appears in short, correctional over-writes within the work, suggesting that the translator probably checked the final transcription himself. There are two systems of pagination in the manuscript: one, in the ink of the text, numbering the first page of the translation itself as "1" (and it is this original pagination that we record in this edition); another, in pencil, from a later date, numbering Bracegirdle's title page as "1" and the first page of the translation as "13." The "ink pagination" appears centered at the top of each inscribed recto page. The "pencil pagination" appears in the upper right corner of the inscribed recto pages. Each inscribed page in the manuscript normally ends with a reader's prompt, which anticipates the first few words found at the beginning of the following page. These are written in the hand of the passage that follows, either in the nonitalic or italic hand. Occasionally, prompts are missing, and the omission most often occurs when the opening verse of the following page begins the translation of a new prose (non-italic) or meter (italic) passage, suggesting that the succeeding amanuensis had failed to notice the missing prompt on the previous page upon returning to work. If there had been but one amanuensis, the prompt probably would have been inscribed before the page was turned. The translations of all five books of the Consolatio begin on a fresh page of the manuscript. The single exception to this practice occurs with Book III, introduced rather unceremoniously after Book II, Meter 8, at the bottom of 19 verso. Corrections of words, phrases, and even of whole verses, appear throughout the manuscript, but in general, the scribal work demonstrates a conscientious effort to present Bracegirdle's translation in an appropriately attractive, clear, and readable transcription.

Bracegirdle's Prosody

On one of the blank pages at the front of Bracegirdle's Psychophar-

macon is found the following notice, which was glued into the manuscript sometime after 1838:

This is an autograph, and unpublished. It is dedicated to the Earl of Dorset (Sackville, the poet) and is written in a very beautiful hand. The interest and curiosity of the manuscript consists in the whole of the prose of Boethius being rendered into blank verse, exhibiting the longest specimen of that kind then existing in the English language. The metres are translated into different kinds of English verse, some of them entirely new, rhyming hexametres, pentametres, &c. The performance is evidently that of a poet of no mean ability, and is done with great spirit and easy flow of versification.

Considering Bracegirdle's results, "performance" is indeed a fair description of the *Psychopharmacon*. Both the great number of verse forms and the "curiosity" of the blank verse place the work's form in the foreground, as though it were a field in which Bracegirdle sought to prove the range of his inventiveness and command of English prosody. The complete spectrum of his experimentation in verse form is catalogued in Appendix I of this edition. The variety of forms and meters Bracegirdle employs is impressive: among the work's thirty-nine meters are twenty-seven distinct stanzaic and metrical variations, and the most common stanza, the sestet, appears in seven different forms. Naturally, some meters are more successful than are others, and if a few approach failure, others do achieve an "easy flow of versification."

Bracegirdle's translations of certain meters into quantitative verse represent his least successful experiments in distinctive verse forms. His translation begins, unfortunately, with one of these. The rendering of Boethius' opening meter, which Bracegirdle fashions in an odd combination of rhyming couplets and quantitative verse, gives little indication of the elegance and musicality he attains later, in the majority of his verse renderings. 10

More satisfying are Bracegirdle's translations of meters into borrowed or invented forms. These range from the heroic couplets of Book

<sup>9</sup> Book I, Meter 1; Book II, Meter 7; Book V, Meter 5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> See Derek Attridge, Well-Weighted Syllables: Elizabethan Verse in Classical Meters (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974). He argues, for example, that, during the Elizabethan period, theories and rules rather than sound guided many English experiments in classical meter (160). This observation might explain why Bracegirdle could place so awkward a verse in so strategic a position in his translation.

I, Meter 4, to the elaborately contrived stanzas of Book III, Meter 1. This latter meter exemplifies one of the peculiar forms Bracegirdle sometimes employs: it is a nonce form in ten lines, rhyming abcdabcdee, with an initial octave in iambic dimeter and a concluding couplet in iambic tetrameter, with interlaced rhyme, which creates a caesura in each verse. More familiar forms employed by Bracegirdle include: ottava rima (in the fashion of Ariosto and Spenser), which appears three times, and rime royal, in hexameters, which appears fittingly in the majestic Book III, Meter 9.

Generally, Bracegirdle handles his forms well, indicating special fondness and aptitude for stanzas that conclude in couplets or quatrains, which he often crafts into memorable or almost gnomic coinings. This predilection for creating memorable phrasing also is evidenced in his blank-verse renderings of Boethius' prose passages, in which Bracegirdle's innovative skills find their most successful expression. Blank verse first appears in English in Surrey's translation of Virgil's *Aeneid*, Books II and IV, published in 1557. Thereafter, outside of drama, blank verse appears only briefly, in obscure examples. Whatever the merits of the blank verse experiments by Spenser, Gascoigne, Peele and others, nothing like Bracegirdle's extensive use of the form appeared in English until Milton perfected it several decades later, in his *Paradise Lost* of 1667.

#### II THE HISTORICAL RECORD

John Bracegirdle

The Dictionary of National Biography further states that John Bracegirdle "is supposed [editors' italics] to have been a son of John Bracegirdle, who was vicar of Stratford-upon-Avon from 1560 to 1569." If this were true, then the translator's father baptized William Shakespeare, and the future translator probably would have been acquainted with the future bard during his childhood, and they probably would have gone to school together. Concerning this vicar, who came to Stratford during a very eventful period of the English Reformation, F.E. Halliday says:

12 DNB, "John Bracegirdle," vol. 6, 142.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> See George K. Smart, "English Non-Dramatic Blank Verse in the Sixteenth Century," Anglia 61 (1937): 370-397. Smart does not mention Bracegirdle in this very thorough study.

The Catholic vicar [at Stratford] was removed and replaced by the Protestant John Bretchgirdle, who re-introduced the Prayer Book of Edward VI and re-organized the services according to the rules laid down by Elizabeth. No doubt there were many Catholics who easily accommodated themselves to the new dispensation, but there were zealots like the Cloptons, Reynoldses and Lanes who refused to attend church and preferred to pay the monthly fine for their recusancy. They were in a minority, however, for Stratford was becoming increasingly Protestant ...<sup>13</sup>

However, one of Shakespeare's biographers, S. Schoenbaum, adds this rather unpromising information on the life of John Bretchgirdle, the supposed father of the translator of Boethius: "He was unmarried—a sister, perhaps two sisters, kept house for him ..." This statement is substantiated by such historical documents as Bretchgirdle's will, and it renders unacceptable the information given in the DNB.

The volume of the Athenae Cantabrigienses, noted above as the source of information later printed in the DNB, indicates that one John Brasgirdle or Bracegirdle (author of the Psychopharmacon) was matriculated as sizar of Queen's College, Cambridge, in December of 1588. He received his B.A. in 1592, his M.A. in 1595, and his B.D. in 1602. The reference further states that "John Bracegirdle ... is supposed [editors' italics] to have been a son [of a man] of the same name who was vicar of Stratford-upon-Avon from 1560–1569." In all probability, this is the original supposition that has generated all subsequent references to Bracegirdle's possible Stratford origin. A later catalog of Cambridge graduates, the Alumni Cantabrigienses, omits the notice concerning his Stratford birth, stating rather that John Bracegirdle was born in Cheshire. This later reference also states that the Consolatio translator was buried at Rye on February 8, 1614 (thus, John Bracegirdle preceded William Shakespeare in death by approximately two years).

A similarity with the name of the vicar of Stratford and congruity of chronology with the bard of Stratford would indicate a connection with the vicar, John Bretchgirdle, but the historical documents do not.

<sup>13</sup> F.E. Halliday, Shakespeare (New York: Thomas Yoseloff, 1961), 19.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> S. Schoenbaum, William Shakespeare: A Compact Documentary Life (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), 23.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> See Edgar I Fripp, "John Brownsword: Poet and Schoolmaster at Stratford-upon-Avon," *Hibbert Journal* (1921): 551–564.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Alumni Cantabrigienses, John Venn and J.A. Venn, eds., Part I (to 1751), vol. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1922), 208.

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John Bracegirdle's career as a clergyman began May 14, 1598, when he was ordained a priest. He became rector of St. John's-sub-Castro at Lewes in 1598 and then rector of St. Thomas-in-the-Cliff in 1599. He was appointed vicar of Rye in 1602 and eventually vicar of Peasmarsh in 1606. 17 For his Consolatio translation, Bracegirdle's appointment to the vicarage of Rye in 1602 is of primary importance, and its documentation in the bishop's record, held today in the church archive at Chichester, states that Bracegirdle was presented for this position by Thomas Sackville, lord Buckhurst, on July 12 of that year. 18 Bracegirdle dedicated his translation of the Consolatio to Thomas Sackville, High Treasurer of England, in 1602 or sometime shortly thereafter. In his Dedication, Bracegirdle states that he had benefited from reading the Boethian work during difficult times and he offers it to the High Treasurer in gratitude for his "favors and most ample benefit," which were granted "freely and often." The presentation for his Rye appointment establishes at least one basis for Bracegirdle's statement of gratitude to Sackville.

The translation itself represents an honorable effort at rendering into English both the form and the content of one of the major works of late Antiquity. It is a fitting gift for a patron whose creative and intellectual interests are as well documented as Sackville's are.

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The Athenae Cantabrigienses further notes that one John Bracegirdle, perhaps the son of the Consolatio translator, received his B.A. at Trinity College in 1629 and his M.A. in 1632. In the case of this entry, the exactness of the names and the appropriateness of the dates lend credence to the speculation it promotes.

Bracegirdle's Patron: Thomas Sackville

Concerning Thomas Sackville, we know much. He was the only son of Sir Richard Sackville, born at Buckhurst, Sussex, in 1536. His career divides into two parts: as a young man, he devoted his attention to literature, but as an adult, he found his calling in politics.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Alumni Cantabrigienses, vol. 1, 208.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Diocese of Chichester, Record of the Bishop, Ep 1 / 1 / 8A, folio 17v-18r.

<sup>19</sup> Athenae Cantabrigienses, vol. 2, 430.

In the mid-1550s, he hoped to write a poem based on Lydgate's Fall of Princes.

The poet was to describe his descent into the infernal regions after the manner of Virgil and Dante, and to recount the lives of those dwellers there who, having distinguished themselves in English history, had come to untimely ends. Sackville prepared a poetical preface which he called an "Introduction." Here "Sorrow" guides the narrator through Hades, and after the poet has held converse with the shades of the heroes of antiquity he meets the ghost of Henry Stafford, duke of Buckingham, who recites to him his tragic story.<sup>20</sup>

Sackville's early literary aspirations thus were ambitious. Although his adaptation of the Fall of Princes was never completed, his "Introduction" and the "Complaint of the Duke of Buckingham" from this fragmentary work were eventually incorporated into the second volume of A Myrroure for Magistrates, by Richard Baldwin and George Ferrers, which appeared in 1563. In English literary history, Thomas Sackville is probably most renowned for his work with Thomas Norton on Gorboduc, which is "perhaps the earliest classical tragedy in England" and "presented before Queen Elizabeth at Whitehall on January 18, 1562."

Sackville's political career developed during the reign of Elizabeth I. On 17 March 1563, he conveyed a message from parliament to the queen. The queen recognized his kinship with her—his father was Anne Boleyn's first cousin—and she showed much liking for him, ordering him to be in continual attendance on her.<sup>22</sup> Under Elizabeth, Sackville made several diplomatic journeys and held various offices. Particularly noteworthy is the following: "In December 1588 he was appointed a commissioner for ecclesiastical causes." Sackville's holding this office could explain why he became John Bracegirdle's patron.

It was ten years later [ten years after 1588] that Sackville was awarded his highest political office.

In August 1598 Lord-treasurer Burghley died, and court

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> DNB, "Sackville," vol. 17, 586.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> David Bevington, The Complete Works of Shakespeare, 4th ed. (New York: Harper-Collins, 1992), xxxviii.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> DNB, "Sackville," vol. 17, 587.

<sup>23</sup> DNB, "Sackville," vol. 17, 587.

gossip at once nominated Buckhurst to the vacant post (Chamberlain, *Letters*, pp. 31, 37); but it was not until 19 May 1599 that he was installed in the office of treasurer.<sup>24</sup>

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In his political career, Thomas Sackville survived the death of Elizabeth I, maintaining political favor into the early years of the Jacobean age.

# III THE EARLY EUROPEAN TRADITION OF CONSOLATIO TRANSLATIONS

The European tradition of vernacular translations of Boethius' *De Consolatione Philosophiae* begins in Britain ca. 899 with the appearance of Alfred the Great's rendering of the Latin work into Old English. The entire Latin text was translated into prose, but somewhat later the Latin verses (except for nine meters) were translated separately into Old English alliterative verse.<sup>25</sup> The *Consolatio* translation was part of Alfred's library of basic texts for the education of his subjects.

On the Continent, about the year 1000, Notker Labeo of St. Gall translated the *Consolatio* into Old High German.<sup>26</sup> His interlinear rendering is thought to have been used in the instruction of Latin at the monastery school of St. Gall. From later periods, both Middle High German and Early Modern German translations either survive or are attested.

The most extensive interest in translating the Consolatio into a European vernacular is found in France. At least thirteen medieval translations, of varied quality and affiliation, date from the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries.<sup>27</sup> Among these is one by Jean de Meun, who also wrote the famous thirteenth-century continuation of

<sup>24</sup> DNB, "Sackville," vol. 17, 588.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Walter John Sedgefield, ed., King Alfred's Old English Version of Boethius' De Consolatione Philosophiae (1899; repr. Darmstadt: Wissenschaft-liche Buchstellschaft, 1968).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Paul Piper, ed., Die Schriften Notkers und seiner Schule, Germanischer Bücherschatz, No. 8-? (Freiburg und Tübingen: Akademische Verlags-buchhandlung von J.C.B. Mohr, 1883).

<sup>27</sup> See Kaylor, The Medieval Consolation of Philosophy.

Guillaume de Lorris' unfinished Roman de la rose.28

During the Middle English period, Geoffrey Chaucer consulted Jean de Meun's French translation of the Consolatio when he himself translated Boethius' last work.<sup>29</sup> Chaucer's translation survives in an incunabulum edition, published by Caxton about 1478, as well as in eleven manuscripts or manuscript fragments. Chaucer's translation, the Boece of about 1380, is entirely in prose. Working in the early fifteenth century, an anonymous adapter of Boethius produced an unusual all-prose revision of Consolatio, Book I. It has been referred to as a translation by some scholars, 30 but upon closer examination, it proves to be a reworking of Chaucer's Boece, Book I, interspersed with commentary of a very idiosyncratic nature.31 In 1410, John Walton, working under the patronage of Lady Elizabeth Berkeley, produced an all-verse rendering of the Boethian work.<sup>32</sup> Consulting a Latin manuscript, he cast Chaucer's prose into English verse, partly in rime royal and partly in eight-line stanzas, both of which Chaucer also had used successfully. Walton's translation, too, appeared in an incunabulum edition.

The next known English translation of the Consolatio was the work of Queen Elizabeth I. She rendered the Latin prose into English prose and the Latin verse into English verse in 1593, but the translation remained in manuscript form until an edition was published in 1899.<sup>33</sup> John Bracegirdle's translation followed next, about 1602, and it has remained heretofore unpublished. Neither Elizabeth I nor John Bracegirdle appear to have consulted any previously existing vernacular renderings of the Consolatio as they prepared their translations. Each work represents an independent effort at rendering both the form and content of Boethius' work into Early Modern English. This edition of Bracegirdle's translation completes the work of editing all known English Consolatio translations of the Middle Ages and Renaissance.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Venceslas Louis Dedeck-Héry, "Boethius' De Consolatione by Jean de Meun," Medieaval Studies 14 (1952): 165–275.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Larry D. Benson, ed., The Riverside Chaucer, 3rd ed. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1987).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> See Mark Liddel, "Letter," Academy, 7 March 1896; Fehlauer, "Die englischen Übersetzungen."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> Noel Harold Kaylor, Jr., Jason Edward Streed, and William H. Watts, "The Boke of Coumfort," Carmina Philosophiae 2 (1993): 55-104.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> Mark Science, ed., *Boethius*: De Consolatione Philosophiae, John Walton, trans., Early English Text Society, no. 170 (London: Oxford University Press, 1927).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> Caroline Pemberton, ed., Queen Elizabeth's Englishings of Boethius, De Consolatione Philosophiae; Plutarch, De Curiositate; Horace, De Arte Poetica (part), Early English Text Society, No. 113 (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co., 1899).

## IV HYPOTHESES ON BRACEGIRDLE'S CHOICE OF A TEXT FOR HIS PATRON

Elizabeth I was a woman of considerable learning: among her many other accomplishments, she had full mastery of French and Latin, and she had a reasonable command of Italian and Greek. Even as monarch she found the time to translate certain Latin works herself. These intellectual exercises include her translation of Boethius' Consolatio, which she produced in 1593. It is said that she made this particular translation in an effort to console herself over the conversion of Henry of Navarre to Catholicism; he had converted from Protestantism, of course, so that he could become Henry IV, Catholic King of France.<sup>34</sup>

Boethius' last and most renowned work was not unknown in Renaissance England. As pointed out above, the English tradition of Consolatio translations was already established through the renderings by Alfred and by Chaucer particularly. By 1602, when Sackville presented Bracegirdle for the vicarage of Rye, it may also have been generally known, at least in court circles, that Queen Elizabeth I herself had translated the Consolatio. If Bracegirdle had finished his own translation before 1603. the year in which the Queen died, and this is indeed probable, it might have been so that Sackville could have had his own version of the text in English, so that he would have been more fully conversant with the literature of consolation that the sovereign had translated as she was approaching her seventieth year. This theory might also explain why the translation fell into almost complete obscurity: after 1603, Sackville's intellectual and political interests would have turned in other directions. However, this theory also seems to require that the suggestion of the gift of a Consolatio translation would have originated in some way from Sackville.

It is also possible that Bracegirdle offered his translation of Boethius' last work as a lamentable story similar to those that had interested Sackville in his youth. The tragic (or casus) element that is inherent in the Consolatio might then lie behind the work's appeal to Sackville, who was also responsible for writing at least the last two acts of Gorboduc (a tragedy and the first English play in blank verse). Bracegirdle probably would have been aware of his patron's own literary endeavors in dramatic tragedy. If, as Bracegirdle seems to suggest at one point in his

<sup>34</sup> See Pemberton, Queen Elizabeth's Englishings.

Dedication, he had already been a student of the *Consolatio* for some time, then the choice of texts might have originated with the translator, who could see grounds in Boethius for intellectual and literary kinship with his patron.

Ultimately, the question of why Bracegirdle chose to translate the Consolatio and no other work for his patron remains unanswerable. However, his rendering the Latin original into the decorous blank verse and various metrical forms he chose, rather than into prose, indicates that he was interested in demonstrating his own agility in producing English prosody, as well as in presenting in English the message of consolation found in the Boethian work. The general quality of Bracegirdle's translation and prosody indicate that he did not work in haste; Bracegirdle's rendering has all the appearance of resulting from a labor of love, for the Consolatio, on the one hand, and for the writing of verses, on the other.

## V EDITORIAL PRACTICE AND NOTATION

This edition of Bracegirdle's Psychopharmacon retains as many of the formal features of MS BL Additional 11401 as possible in a semi-diplomatic transcription of the manuscript. The sometimes idiosyncratic orthography of the scribes is maintained, except where confusion could result, and these few instances in which emendations seemed advisable are noted; expanded abbreviations are enclosed in brackets, but letters superscripted in the manuscript are superscripted in the edition. For convenience of reference, the lines of each prose and meter passage are numbered separately. Bracegirdle's Dedication comprises thirty lines of prose on one page of the manuscript. Whereas the original lineation in the verse and blank-verse passages has been carefully preserved throughout this edition, it has not been retained in this unique prose passage. In the manuscript, the original page numbers appear at the head of each recto page of the translation; in order not to disrupt the flow of text unnecessarily, we have moved these numbers back to the end of the last line of verse at the bottom of the previous page.

John Bracegirdle is generally an excellent versifier. However, lines that are metrically short occasionally appear. On the other hand, with some frequency, unaccented endings, elided syllables, and seemingly superfluous words also appear, yielding metrically long lines. No at-

tempt has been made in this edition to emend these seeming inconsistencies (except in two instances, one in Book IV and another in Book V, in which the Latin text suggests an acceptable emendation), and they present no obstacle in appreciating the translation.

For convenience, some unusual words are defined in Appendix II: Selective Glossary. Each occurrence of these words is indicated in the edited text with a raised circle (for example: bewray°). Indications of non-textual elements, such as the seal of the British Museum, which has been stamped in red on several pages of the manuscript, have been omitted without documentation.

## John Bracegirdle's Psychopharmacon



Psychopharmacon.
The Mindes Medicine, or the
Phisicke of Philosophie, contained
in five bookes, called the Consolation of
Philosophie, compiled by Anicius, ~
Manlius Torquatus Seve//
rinus Boethius, in the
time of his exile and
proscription.

To the Right Honorable my singuler good Lord the Earl of Dorsett, Lord high Treasurer of England, et:

Right Honorable:1 the Romayne usage,2 that none presum'd to approach to any of sort more eminent, wthout some significac[i]on of their love, by some rare guift hath<sup>3</sup> mooved me to pfrelsume to pfrelsent this small token of my loyall affection, and gratitude, unto yo[ur] hono[ur]. Wherein, though I may seeme rather guiltie of impudence4 then myndefull of my imbecillity<sup>5</sup> and obscuritie in attempting to offer this Tralac[i]on to yo[ur] worthiest self, of Divine Boecius: yet notwthstanding[,]6 yo[ur] hono[urs] favors, and most ample benefitte, to mee freely, and often collated, have emboldened mee to undertake the one, [and] ye benefitt w<sup>ch</sup> I have often sucked in difficulties from this worke, hath urged mee, long since, to undertake ye other. Who more fitt or able to iudge of this worke, then yo[ur] hono[ur]? Who have heretofore most gravely [and] prudently taken paynes therein? What worke more availeable to all Estates, to p[er]swade the mynde to calme contentment in ye sturdy stormes of all crossing chaunges, then this Author? Breefly the quiett establishing of my bodily estate proceedeth by meanes of yo[ur] hono[ur], and my myndes establishm[ent] by meanes of this author. Yf any obiect, I ought not imploye myself so much in Philosophie, [and] Poetrie: I answere this booke contayneth excellent grounds of Divinitie. But I write this privately, to signifie my obedience [and] thanckfullnes, not to satisfie ye Curious, most humbly beseeching yo [ur] honorable acceptance hereof, with is all that I desire, [and] more then

7 therein?] therein. MS

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Right Honorable:] Right Honorable, MS

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> usage,] use MS

<sup>3</sup> hath] hath, MS

<sup>4</sup> impudence] impudence, MS

<sup>5</sup> imbecillity] imbecillity, MS

<sup>6</sup> notwthstanding[,]] notwthstanding MS

sufficient recompence for my poore labors, who rest in all duetifull affecc[i]on at yo[ur] hono[urs] commaundement and service, to expresse greater meanes of gratefull remembrance of yo[ur] hono[urs] benefitte, whensoever abilitie, [and] oportunity shal be offered. In the meane season, I most humbly, [and] in hartiest prayer commend yo[ur] hono[ur], my right honorable Lady, yo[ur] honorable progeny, and family, to yoblessed protection of the Almightie Fountaine of eternall felicitie, in whome I rest,

Your Honors servant at commaund,

John Bracegirdle · Bacheler in Divinity ·

#### 1 [r]

THE · PHYSICKE · OF · PHILOSOPHIE. 1 /

contained in five bookes, compiled by Anicius
Manlius Torquatus Severinus
Boethius, touching the consolation
of Lady Philosophie in the
tyme of his banishment.

The first booke expressing the signes, and causes of Boethius his sicknes. /

The first Meter .

I, who did, in study late florishing, meditate mery verses, In ditties tragicall, am, alas, constren'd to rehearse these. / See, the rufull Muses do relate to me songes to be viewed, And to lament miseries, wth teares, sory cheekes they be-dewed. Terror at all could never amaze them, or urge to relent them, But that alonge followinge me banished, only they went then. These were a glory to youth many daies, when pleasure abounded, Now they solace selyo daies, wth greife verie mightely wounded, For very fast old age doth approach, wth labor, or ache spent, And miseries that I feele, compell horie heares, to be present. Such graie heares to my head, redy prest untimely be hasted, And wrinckled skin, apace shivereth, on a weake body wasted. Fortunate is mans death, so she spare men, in absolute yonge yeares, And to release maladies, that abound, will not tarry longe teares. (Ah me, a wretch) to my suit very deafe no returne she replieth, Death cruel, eies miserable to close, very stoutly denieth. While ficle fortune of old favoured, full treacherous in shiftes, Deathes sorrowfull last howre, well neare had abandoned all giftes. Now to sinister event, chance changed againe me betrayinge,

5

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<sup>1</sup> PHILOSOPHIE] PHILOSOPIE MS

20 Iniurious life, longe protracteth tyme by delayinge.

Why did ye my state, freinds, boast often aloft to be mounted?

Farre from a state stablished, who so falles may truly be counted.

#### Prose 1

These things while I did w<sup>th</sup> my selfe record,
And had w<sup>th</sup> penne, my pensive playrits displaied,
A woman reverend, in semely shape,
W<sup>th</sup> ardent eies, peircinge beyond mans reach,
Over my head appeared then to stand,
Of lively coulour, and unwasted strength,
Allthough to be so full of daies she seemed,
That of this age to be, none would have deemed.
Her stature allwaies was not of one height,
Somtyme no taller then a common man,
To touch the sky sometyme her head did seeme,
Who when her head she did mount upp on highe.

To touch the sky sometyme her head did seeme, Who when her head she did mount upp on highe, Above mans sight she past the azure sky. Her garments were w<sup>th</sup> finest threeds compact,

15 W<sup>th</sup> matter intricate, and art exact.

These garments she, (as afterward she sayd)

Compiled of her selfe, whose outward showe

By negligence of man in former daies, Darknes, like smoked pictures, had obscur'd.

In nether<sup>2</sup> hemme wherof .P. did appeare,
In the upper part, T. was embroydered,
Betwen w<sup>ch</sup> le[tt]res, certaine stepes were wrought
Like staiers compact, whereby from P. belowe,
To T. above, w<sup>th</sup> ease one might ascend.

25 Yet was this garment rent by violence
Of some, who, what they could purloine, did take.
In her right hand some bookes she also bare,
A septer, in her left hand, she did hould,
Who when Muses poeticall she sawe,

Just o my bed to be approached neare, Indittinge sonnets w<sup>ch</sup> my woes might showe, W<sup>th</sup> eies like fire inflamed, thus *she* spake. / P. These harlotts Scænicall<sup>o</sup> who doth permit,

5

10

[1 v]

<sup>2</sup> nether] neith[er] MS

Neare to this pensive patient to p[re]sume, 35 From helpinge these his paines who are so farre, That they wth sugred poyson feed3 his greife. ffor these are such, as wth unfruitfull weeds Of passions, slay the graine of reason sound, And do mans paines augment, not ease procure. / Yf now some Pesant base, yo[ur] suttle baits 40 (As often tymes they do) should thus seduce, I would not waighe so much, for them: for why? In such my labour is not blemished: But him you hurt, who hath ben trayned upp 45 In Athens studies Academicall. Hence Syrens to destruction deepe depart, Let Muses mine, attempt to cure his smart. B. Thus they rebuked cast their face to ground, And wth a shamefast blush they vanished. But I, whose eies wth tricklinge teares were dim[m]e, 50 What woman she, of such imperious power Might be, could not conceive, but daunted was, And to the earth my countenance downe cast, I marked what she would attempt at last. 55 Then nearer she beginninge to approach, Uppon the furthest corner of my bed Sate downe, my face behoulding ernestly W<sup>ch</sup> w<sup>th</sup> my wayling playnts, was pensive made. And groveling to the ground wth griping greife, 60 In verses following, mans passions sore, W<sup>ch</sup> mated mynds oppresse, she did deplore. /

Meter · 2 · /

2 · [r]

How is mans mynd plunged, alas, in paines, Made sensles blocke, forsaking reasons light, To darknes deepe he doth let loose the reines, When cloudes of cares increase by fatall might. This man, late free from fond<sup>4</sup> affections chaines, The heavens motions did perceive aright,

5

<sup>3</sup> feed] letter over-written as "d"

<sup>4</sup> fond] "u" deleted after "o" MS

The blazinge beames of Phoebus beauty cleare, Cold Phoebes nature did to him appeare. /

And wandring starres, that retrograde do goe,

By sundry motions chaunginge in the skye,
Throughe helpe of arte, he did attaine to know,
Searchinge the depth of nature to descry,
Whose secret causes he could soundly showe,
Althoughe concealed they profoundly ly,

Why blustring blasts, do tosse the toylinge tyde,
What spirit doth the rowling heavens guide.

Why twinckling starres, settinge in Ocean sea,
Do shortly rise againe in radiant East,
Who doth the spring in such a temper swaye,
That fertile earth, with fragrant flowers is drest,
Who doth Autumnus grapes so full conveye,
Now blind he lies, with fetters strong opprest,
And since fond fantasies his senses bound,
His eies he fixeth on the basest ground.

## Prose 2 ·

But tyme a salve, said she, not wayling seekes, Her eies on me she fixing then thus spake. Art thou not he, who nursed wth ofur] breast, Fedd wth ofurl foode, to mans estate attain'd?5 Such furniture on thee we did bestow. 5 W<sup>ch</sup> if thou hadst not careleslie rejected, From maladie they now had thee protected. Knowest thou not me? Why dost thou silence keepe? Is it for shamefastnes, or sensles feare? / I rather wish it modest bashfulnes:6 10 But I perceive astonishment is cause. / And when not only still, but wanting use Of tounge, she me beheld, her hand she lay'd Softly uppon my breast, and thus she sayd.

<sup>5</sup> attain'd?] "," altered to "?" MS

<sup>6</sup> bashfulnes] written in dark ink

<sup>7</sup> my] head deleted after my MS

10

15 Here is no perill, into lethargie,
This man is fallen, to deluded mynds
A com[m]on greife. Him self he hath forgot,
When he against to mynde will quickly call,
When me more perfectly he shall perceive,
This said, myne eies flowing wth floudes of teares,
When foulded garment wypinge dry, she cleares.

[2 v]

### Meter 38

Night then expeld, me glomy darknes left,
And former sight returned to mine eyes,
Like as the sunne, of wonted light bereft,
When blustringe blasts, of whirling wyndes aryse. /
When hidden Pole with clustred clouds doth stand,
Starres dimmed not displaied in skowlinge skye,
Nights misty darknes, spred on lowringe land,
Which when as boystrous Boreas mightely
Retiringe from the hollow Thrasian den,
Shall from the skies expell restoring day:
Faire Phœbus former light doth shine againe,
Whose radiant beames mans dazeled eyes dismay. /

## Prose 3 · /

No otherwise the vapo[urs] of my greife
Expelled claine, my mynd acknowledged
The countennance of my Phisitian.
Wherefore when I on her myne eies had fixt,

My Nurse Philosophie I plaine perceiv'd,
In whose lappe lulled longe I did converse.
Are you, quoth I, Mistress' of vertues all,
To desarts of exile descended lowe,
From highe? Would you wth me a porc[i]on take

Wth forged crymes accused? Then she spake.
P. Should I thee leave my sonne, and not beare to part

<sup>8</sup> Meter 3] Meter 2 MS

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Mistress] M<sup>rs</sup> MS

<sup>10</sup> beare] "e" inserted above with caret after "b"

Of this thy burden weh thou dost sustaine Because thie enimies do thee envy? And thee most in[n]ocent, alone to bare / For dame Philosophie unfit it were, 15 Should I mans blamings feare? Or staggring stand As if some strange successe to thee befell? Hast thou not noted how in every age, Wise men are vexed by the wickeds rage? Wth follies furies before Plato lived 20 Have not we strugled sore? And in his daies His maister Socrates (I standing by) Of death iniurious gained victory, Whose large inheritaunce of knowledge sound, Lewd Epicures, Stoickes, and other sects, 25 Like spoiles in warr, against my will did snatch / My garments, wch my hands had made, who rent, And every sect therefrom purloin'd a patch, Supposing so they should me wholely catch. And thus wth prey11 these Pyrates did depart, 30 In whom, because some remants of attire Wch I had worne, appeared, folly rash 3 ·/[r] My freinds familiar esteeming them, Wth common Error did seduce the most. / But if exile of Anaxagoras, 35 Nor Socrates his poyson thou dost knowe, Nor Zeno wth his tortures being strange, Yet Canius freinds and wrongs of Seneca, Also Soranus freinds12 whose fame not old Nor unrenowned flies, thou mightest marke. 40 Of all whose wrongs, the only reason was, Because, in wisdoms p[re]cepts trayn'd by mee, From wicked men theire mynds did disagree. Wherfore so to admire no cause thou hast Yf wee, in such a surginge sea of life, 45 Wth toylinge tempests strugling sore, be tost: Sith wee against all vice, ofur] power oppose,

11 prey] pray MS

<sup>12</sup> and wrongs of Seneca, / Also Soranus freinds] inserted above with caret after Canius freinds

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Whose army thoughe it infinite appeare,
Yet wicked wretches troupes wee neede not feare. /
For why? W<sup>th</sup>out all regiment they march
To rash attempts, inconstant here and there,
Blind Error only doth theire forces leade.
Who, when against us they do most p[re]vaile,
Our Prince to turret stronge her goodes w<sup>th</sup>drawes. /
Unfruitfull stuffe to gaine they only strive,
But wee, from furious tumults, most secure,
Stronge fenced, where fooles rage cannot aspire,
Deride such doltes, who basest trash require. /

#### Meter 4 · /

Who so syncerely doth, in setled state, Treade under foote proud fortunes ficle fate: In chances13 change who constant can endure, Unchanginge countenance conservinge pure: No swelling seas from bottome billowes turninge, Nor mount Vesevus flashing flames feirce burninge, No thunderbolts (though turrets peirce they can) May much amaze the mynd of such a man. Why do men wretched so much Tyrants feare? Or them admire, whose rage doth weake appeare? Hope thou for nothinge, dread no enemy, And thou unarmest ire of tyrannye. / But who so tremblinge feares, or hopes at all, (Because his will included is in thrall) Rejecteth reasons sheild, and sound security, His mynd imprisoninge in instability. /

3 [v]

## Pro: 4 · /

Dost thou, quoth *shee*, these things not understand? And are they not imprinted in thy mynd? Art thou like blockish *Asse* before the harpe? Why weapest thou? Why dost thou flowe in teares? Declare thy greife, nothing from me conceale. If thou *Phisitians* helping hand expect, It's requisit thy wound be first displayed.

<sup>13</sup> chances] second "c" altered from "g"

Bo: Then I recalling strength of mynd, thus said[:] / Doth yet a further declaration neede? Doth fortunes furie not yet full appeare? 10 Doth sight of prison base you nothing move? Is this the librarie, wth in my howse As certaine Mansion place, weh you did chose? Wherin of mortall, and divine affaires Sitting wth me, you often would discourse? 15 Had I this habit and this pensive hewe, When Natures secrets I did search wth you? When you starres motions manifest did make, 14 When manners o[urs], and all o[ur] course of life, Like heavens order firme to frame, you taught. 20 Is this the guerdon° wch wee only gaine, Who strive yofur] p[re]cepts strictlie to observe? By Plato you this sentence ratified, Where wise men rule, such kingdoms happie are, Or where to wisdome, kinges addict ther care. 25 By him also you have admonished, That for iust cause wise men should take the rule, Lest raines of Realme bad men to them transport, Wherby they may oppresse the better sort. 30 This grave advice w<sup>ch</sup> I by you was taught In study privat, into publick act Of regiment I wished to reduce. / You and yt God wch unto learned mynds Infuseth wisdomes Arts, are witnesses, 35 Y' nothing save the common good of all To Magistracie did my mynd perswade, Hence wth bad men I waged still debate, And this my conscience hath freely cleared, In rights defense no mans offence I feared. / 40 How often violence, and pore mens wronges, By Conigastus offred, did I crosse? How oft Triguilla great in Palace swaying In wrongs nere finished did I resist? How oft poore wreches vexed wofully

By lawles lucreo of the Barbarous,

<sup>14</sup> make] "r" deleted after "a" MS

Wth hazard of my state did I maintaine? From right to wrong no man could me reclaime. / Hard haps of Provinces I did bewayle, No less then they themselves to see them sacked Wth private spoils, and publicke tribute racked. 50 In tyme of famine when exac[i]on sore Wth penury did pinch Campania, I undertooke (yea though the Kinge perceived) For com[m]on good 'gainst officer to strive, And yt such prowlinge15 ceast I did procuer. 55 Noble Paulline, whose substance Palace dogs By gredy gaine and pride sought to devoure, Out of their rav[en]inge iawes I rescued. / Envious Cyprian, who to condemne 60 Albinus Consulate uniustlie sought, Before his cause was tryd I did wth stand. Did not I kindle Envies flame herein? Yet (thoughe in Court, for Iustice sake disgraced), 16 I ought of oth[ers] to have been embraced. / But how base men my iustest cause defaced! / 65 Basill from Kinges affaires long since expell'd, Me to accuse wth bribes subornedo was, Wheras Opilio, and Gaudentius, For wrongs and treacheries most villanous, 70 By censure of the Kinge to be exiled Condemned were, when they in Sanctuary Would shroud themselves, and not the Kinge obey, It being tould the Kinge, he did proclaime, Unles Ravenna they would shortlie leave, Wth markes in forehead burned they should packe. / 75 What more severe then sentence such may seeme? But they that verie day accusing mee, Their slanders were of great authoritie. Why? Have my sundry studies this deserv'd? Is not this shame if not yt innocent 80 I am condemned? Accusers basenes might Make fortune blush to see me thus abused?

16 disgraced),] disgraced,) MS

<sup>15</sup> prowlinge] powlinge MS (translating Latin coemptio)

Now marke the crimes wherof I am accused. They did object yt senators I saved. And how? They urge that I informers staied, 85 Who brought intelligence that guiltie found The whole Senat of treason to the crowne. What then I answered (o Lady) judge. / The fact I did denie. For should I rushe To such attempts as would force you to blush? 90 [4 v] Yet I confesse, I would, and ever will Endeavour to assist the Senators. But will not seek intelligence to stay. / Is y' offence to save their state to wish? The Senats sentence made it great offence, 95 But ignorance of things too credulous, Fore past deserts cannot againe recall. / Neither did Socrates esteeme it fitt, For to conceale a truth, or grant a lye. Iudge you, and let the wise discusse these things, 100 The course and truth wherof to memory, Wth penne I leave to all posteritie. What should I now in vaine make menc[i]on Of letters falsly forged and imposed, 105 Whereby the Romaine freedome to restore I should attempt, untruly they object? Whose treacheries had ben made manifest, If to accusers, (wch in causes greate Hath no small force), I might have had accesse. What hope 17 of libertie can now remaine? 110 Would God some hope 18 were left. Wth Canius words I answer would, who when he was accus'd By Caius Cæsar sonne of Germanicke, Of secret treason wrought against his Throne, 115 Thus said: If I had knowne, thou hadst not knowne. / I waile not thus to see bad men conspire Vertue to vexe, but how vile practizes

They can effect I greatlie do admire.

Perhapps my weakenes worser things would wish.

<sup>17</sup> hope] "o" deleted after "o" MS

<sup>18</sup> hope] "o" deleted after "o" MS

120	But wicked men against the in[n]ocent	
	At plesure theirs for to accomplish wrong	
	Before Gods presence, doth seem monstrous strange. /	
	Hence one of yo[ur] Philosophers and freinds,	
	And not w <sup>th</sup> out iust cause demanded thus. /	
125	Howe com[m]eth evill, if their be a God?	
	If their be not a God, how cometh good?	
	But now allthoughe such blind bloudthirstie myndes,	
	Who practize all good men to undermyne	
	My ruine sought, because I did protect	
130	Good men, ye all the Senators, did I	
	No greater favour at those fathers hands	
	Whose lives from death I saved, then deserve?	
	You (Lady deare) remember well I thinke	
	Who use my words and deeds still to direct. /	
135	You know, I say, that in Verona <sup>19</sup> towne,	
	When Theodoricus most blouddy Kinge	5
	Suspected treason laid to Albins chardge	
	Unto the whole Senate sought to translate:	
	Wth what greate danger I did them defend.	
140	You knowe the truth I speake, not wont to boast.	
	ffor hauty harts deserve noe praise but blame,	
	Who bragginge hunt to reape reward of fame.	
	But what event myne in[n]ocency got,	
	You see, insteade of vertues iust reward	
145	Of vilest vice reproche I do sustaine. /	
	Could mans confession of a guiltie fact,	
	Iudges so to consent severely cause,	
	As neith[er] Error of mans judgment fraile,	
	Nor fortunes ficklenes unstaid to all	
150	Might any one of them move to remorse?	
	If sacred churches, I had ben accused	
	To set on fire. Yf wth bloud sucking sword	
	To murther Preistes. Yf good men to subvert	
	Yet sentence peremptory ought not <sup>20</sup> passe.	

·/[r]

Till I my fact confesse, and p[re]sent be,

Verona] "r" deleted after "r" MSnot] to deleted after not MS

Or ells convicted were by laws decree. / But I then distant allmost fiftie miles, None ther to plead my cause, for my good will Unto the Senat shew'd, by Senatours To death, and poore proscription am condemn'd. / 160 O blessed, whom such crime cannot convince. Whose dignity th'accusers also sawe, Wch that wth cursed crymes they might obscure They forged yt I, for promoc[i]on Wth Negromancy did my soule pollute. / 165 But you in mee desier of mortall dregs Have cleansed cleane, unlawful in yo[ur] sight Was sacrilege. For in my eares, and mynd, Pythagoras his speech you did inspire. 170 One God, not many Gods, wee ought to serve, Base Devils ayde for me would seeme unfit, Whom you in state procuer, like God to sitt. / Besids my vertuous wife, and honest freinds, And reverend father worthy Symmachus, 175 Suspition of such cryme from me remove. O wicked fact, sustaine I do such blame, Because wth you, in study sole I live, And sith wth p[re]cepts youurs] I am adorn'd, Like such I seeme as deale wth Spirits vile. / Thus unto mee yo[ur] dignitie in vaine 180 Is both estem'd, and you like wronge sustaine / [5 v]To these are added further heaps of harme, Deserts in things, light judgment of most men Regardeth not but fortunes false event. 185 They iudge prosperitie God only guides, Hence, good report afflicted wretches loose. What rumo[urs] strange, and speches dissonant On mee are made, I greive to call to mynd. Of miseries this sorest burden is. When one of crimes accused is, thoughe pure, 190 Men iudge they well deserve what they endure. And I alas, from all my goods exil'd, Deprived of renowne, in name defyl'd, For benefits, this punishment sustaine.

Me thinks I now behould despitefull flocks

Of mynds envious, clapping hands for ioye. /
The cursed crue, new coyning crimes uniust,
Good men, by terror of my toyles dismay'd,
Bad men, because they see no punishment,
Foule facts to undertake emboldened,
And to performe vice, moved by rewards,
And guiltles men voyd of security,
Wthout defense. Wherefore thus may we cry.

Meter 5

O thou creator of the starry sky,
Triumphinge in eternall throne, whose might
Swift heavens motion guideth orderly,
Ordaininge Planets for to march aright.
So that sometyme full Moone shineth cleare,
In opposition to her brother faire,
Smale starres from humaine sight
Who doth detaine,
And neare his beames, her light

She wants againe. /

10

5

And Hesperus appearinge over night,
Behind the Sonne the frostie starres to leade,
Is named Lucifer, in morninge bright
Before the light of Phoebus beemes convaide.
In winter shorter dayes thy wisdome made,
When fallinge leaves by nippinge frost do fade.
Againe in Sommer tyde,
Thy divine powers,
Most equally devide,
Nights swifter houres.

20

15

6 · [r]

Thy might doth moderate chaunginge yeare,
So as greene leaves late flourishinge in springe,
Which winters boystrous blasts from trees doth teare,
Succedinge seasons calme againe will bringe.

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And that in Vernall tyme what seedes men sowe,
Doth scorchinge Syrius cause full ripe to growe.
Yea nothing lucid free
From former state,

## Forsaketh the decre Made firme by fate.

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All thinges thou dost dispose to certaine end Actions of men only thou dost reject O governour to mortall men descend Do not our miserable cause neglect.

For why doth fortune fraile such courses chaunge?

Men guiltlesse are condemn'd to torments strange,

Whose punishments were fitt

For men impure:

But wicked wretches sitt

In seates secure. /

Whose pride treades downe, by course of fate uniust, The sacred neckes of reverend Saints most rare, Vertue contemned is to corners thrust,<sup>21</sup> Of cursed crymes Iust men condemned are.

No periury, no fraude at all anoyeth:
Nor forged falshood vicious men destroyeth.
But Kinges they can subdue
At hartes desire,
Maugre° their Subiects<sup>22</sup> true<sup>23</sup>
Who<sup>24</sup> them admyre.

O now at last respect wretched mankind,
Thou, who contrivinge heavens fixed frame,
Events of all thinges els dost firmely binde,
Of all thy workes men are not least of name
Yet tossed still we toyle in fortunes sea.
Whose walowinge waves (o moderator) swaye. /
And in what constant state
Heaven remayneth:
Confirme our ficle fate,
Whom earth contayneth. /

<sup>21</sup> thrust] thurst MS

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Subjects] "e" inserted above with caret

<sup>23</sup> true] crue MS

<sup>24</sup> who] "m" deleted after "o" MS

#### Pro: 5 /

When thus I howlinge still my woes bewrayd,° Not moved w<sup>th</sup> my plaints *she* smyling sayd. When first thee sad and sobbing sore I saw By miseries and banishment thy state

[6 v]

- Opprest to stand, I streight imagined. /
  But yet, unles thy speach had thee betrayd,
  Thy cheife exile was not by me bewrayd. o
  From Natures soile thou art not farre expeld,
  But thence dost straye. If needs thou wilt maintaine
- 10 Y' thou expulsed art, then blame thy selfe. /
  For non but thou thy self, could thee exile.
  Yf thou thy native soyle to mynd recall,
  It is not ruled by the multitude
  Like Athens wonted Popular estate,
- In many Cittizens who doth delight,

  Inhabitants not seeking to expell.

  Whose lawes decree, whose iustice to obey
  Is cheifest liberty. That auntient lawe
- In reasons Citty made, dost thou not knowe? Prohibitinge such subjects banishment, Wthin her wales who fix their mansion place? In whose p[re]cinct environed who stands, No doubt he never doth exile deserve. /
- But who so wisheth from her seate to stray,
  He ceaseth to deserve therin to stay. /
  Wherefore to find thee in this desert place,
  So much I weighe not as thy chaunged mynd. /
  Adorned *Ivory* wales w<sup>th</sup> pearles of price
- 30 In wonted *librarye* appearing late,
  So much I seek not, as thy seate of mynd:
  Wherin not bookes, but y<sup>t</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> bookes doe grace,
  Profoundest sentences I late did place. /
  Touching thy care for others common good,
- A true relac[i]on thou has published.

  Yet in respect of ample merits thine,

  Only some part of thy deserts dost touch.

  Concerning crymes objected unto thee

  Had they been truly prov'd they honest were. /

- And part therof were false surmises forged,
  As thou hast unto all made manifest.
  Concerning thine accusers crimes and fraudes
  Breiflie the truth thou hast deciphered. /
  For fame still prying into all mens acts
- 45 More copiouslie will celebrate such facts.

  Against the Senats sentence rigorous

  Thou hast w<sup>th</sup> vehemence inveyed well.

  My defamac[i]on, and thine owne disgrace

  Thou hast<sup>25</sup> aright bewayled. / Finally

7 [r]

- Thy gripinge greife did growe to galeing ire
  Against dame fortune, playninge y<sup>t</sup> rewards
  To good and evil men unequall happe.<sup>26</sup>
  Endinge thy raginge sonnet w<sup>th</sup> request
  Y<sup>t</sup> earth, like heavens constant state, might rest.
- But sith trumoylinge passions tumult reigne Greif, Ire, and anguish thee distractinge sore:
  Stronger receipts (as now thy state doth stand)
  I may not yet apply. I first must use
  More easie helps a while, that this desease
- Puft up w<sup>th</sup> perturbac[i]ons pinchinge paines,
  And swellinge sore, may first be mollified:
  That stronger meanes may after be applied. /

## Meter · 6 ·

With Phoebus blasinge beames when Cancer boyles, In earth untymely who so sewes his seede: Deceaved much of Ceres fruits to speede, May acornes eate, for all his frustrate toyles.

With winters windes when you see naked feildes, Walke not the woodes to finde the violet: Nor fragrant flowers w<sup>th</sup> gredy hand to get. Yf grapes you gather would, such Autume yeildes. /

Eternall God ordayneth seasons all,

Guidinge their actions not by fortune mixed,

<sup>25</sup> hast] wth deleted after hast MS

<sup>26</sup> happe] "n" deleted after "e" MS

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Not changinge courses w<sup>ch</sup> his wisdome fixed, So what this order rashly leaves shall fall.

#### Prose 6 · /

First then wilt thou wth patience me abide. Wth questions fewe to search and to decyde Thy state of mynd, yt I may understand, The meanes thy sore to salve. Bo: Lady demand What seemeth good, I will my<sup>27</sup> mynd disclose. / Ph: Dost thou by rash and headlonge chaunce suppose This world is toßed? Or dost thou assure Thy selfe, ther is a rule of reason pure? Bo: Things certaine in uncertaine course to goe I never can beleive. But God I know The world doth guide, weh he in wisdome made. [7 v]From truth wherof no age can me diswade. / Ph: Tis true, quoth shee, in verse thou songe this late. / Only mankind to be exempt of fate And divine providence, thou didst lament: All els to stand by reasons regiment Thou doubted not, wherfore I marvaile much Havinge yt iudgment sound, thy greife is such. / But let us deeper search thy deepth of wound, Some causes hid thy mated thoughts confound. But tell me, sith by God world firm to 'byde Thou doubtest not, by what meanes doth he guide? Bo: This questions meaning full I scarse conceive. Wherfore unanswered the same I leave. / Ph: Did I not truly judge, then answered shee, Imagininge some other want to be: Wherby like gredy Gulphe into thy mynd Deseases crept of perturbac[i]ons blind. /

Or where to *natures* actions cheiflie tend?

Bo: I have this hard: Now sighing sorrowes vaine

My memory obscured much detaine. /

Ph: But dost thou knowe from whence all things proceede?

Bo: I say from God. P: How can this error breede,

But dost thou knowe of things what is the end,

<sup>27</sup> my] inserted above with caret

35 Y' wheras the begining thou dost knowe Of things, what is the end thou canst not show? But such are passions pollicies and power, Mans reason they will shake, yea quite devo[ur], But wholly it to quench they never can. / But answere yet: knowest thou, thou art a man? 40 B: I doubt not yt. P: What is man then declare? B: This trifle do you aske?<sup>28</sup> I know men are Made reasonable creatures and mortall, This I do know and nothing doubt at all. / And this my self to be I do confesse. 45 Ph: And nothinge more? B: Nothing: P: Now I do gesse Anoth[er] greatest cause of this thy smart, Thou ceasest to remember what thou art. The causes of thy care I see full sure, 50 And find a meanes wherby I may thee<sup>29</sup> cure. For now because thy selfe to knowe thou failest, Exile and losse of goodes thou thus bewaylest. Because thou dost not knowe the finall end 8 [r] Of things, to wicked men thou dost contend Strength and felicity for to abide, 55 Because by what meanes God the world doth guide Thou hast forgot, thou judgest courses change Wthout a guide, by fortunes motions strange. / These causes are, not causinge greife alone 60 But these procure certaine destruction. But, to the Author of all health be praise, For in thee wholely nature not decayes. Greate meanes wee have diseases to p[re]vent, In yt thou touchinge Creatures regiment A truth dost hould, yt fortunes ficlenes 65 Doth not beare rule, but God wth stablenes. / Doubt not therof from this smale sparke of thine Shall vitall heate revivinge shortlie shine. / But in as much as for these maladies Time doth not yet require stronge remydies: 70

And this is naturall, when sentence true

29 thee] the MS

<sup>28</sup> aske?] "," deleted after "e" with "?" inserted above

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From mynds rejected is, errors ensue:

Wherby affections mists, mens sights obscure.

I first by gentil meanes will this procure,

To mittigate thy paine, that passions blind

Expelled cleane: truthes brightnes thou maist finde.

[Meter 7]

Starres cannot yeild their wonted light When they by cloudes be hid from eye. / If surginge Sea by sturdy spite30 Of whirlinge windes unquiet ly, Though late his billowes were as bright As clearest day in christall sky, Man may not peirce them with his sight, In that they muddy are thereby. / The river swift runinge aright From craggie top of mountaines high, If loosed rockes slide downe with might, The stopped streame will runne awrye. / If thou likewise (o mortall wight) Require truth clearly to descrie,° In reasons path if thou delight Ioy, Feare, Hope, Greife, repell and fly. Thy mynd obscure, like misty night, Wher these do raigne, fond fancies tye. /

<sup>30</sup> spite] spit MS

<sup>31 § ]</sup> final flourish ending Book I (a unique decoration in MS)

# [8 v] THE · PHYSICKE · OF · PHILOSOPHY ·

compiled by Anicius Manlius Torquatus
Severinus Boethius touchinge
the consolation of Lady
Philosphy in the
tyme of his
exile ·

The second booke expressing the preparative before she applieth stronger receipts ·

The first Prose1 · /

This said a while she paus'd. And when she sawe By silence still my mynds attention She thus began. P. Yf fully I conceive The causes and the habit of thy greife, For ardent love of former fortune lost 5 Thou languishest. / She beinge changed sole, Thy state of mynd doth change, as thou dost iudge. I know this monsters manyfould deceipts, So longe wth them, whom she meanes to delude, 10 She fawninge freindship shewes, till she confound Wth galeinge greife, whom shee in deepe despaire Dismisseth drown'd. / Whose nature, use, desert, If thou to mynd recall, no worthy thinge By her thou didst eniove, or ells hast lost 15 Whatever worthy was, thou shalt perceive. But these things to thy mynd much to revoke I need not, for thou usedst to invay Wth vehemence against her, when at hand

<sup>1</sup> Prose] "P" written over erasure

Fawninge wth thee shee was in smiling wise, Wth sentences suggested from my selfe. 20 But suddaine change of state doth seldome chance Wthout a certaine conflict first of mynd. So thou art somewhat from mynds rest declin'd. / But tyme requires yt thou shouldst now receive And tast some soft and pleasant sweet receipt, 25 Wch inward taken may p[re]pare the way For phisicke forcyble. Wherfore swete voyce Of Rethoricke draw neare, wch then aright Proceeds, when p[re]cepts myne she doth not passe. / 30 And when like musickes note shee seemes to change, Sometymes ascending highe, somtymes more base, 9 [r] What is it then (o man) wch thee hath cast Into this agonie? I judge some change Thou hast beheld, unusuall, and strange. / 35 If thou supposest fortune changed is, Thy selfe thou dost deceive. / These allwaies are Her manners, this her nature is. / To thee She rath[er] constancy in change doth showe. No other wise she was, when she wth bayts 40 Of counterfeit felicity on thee Did fawne. / Of goddes blind the ficle face Thou hast descri'd, wch yet from oth[er] men Concealed hath it selfe, to thee made knowne. / Yf she content thee, use her wthout plainte, 45 Her ficlenes pernitious if thou fear'st Contemne, reiect, her daliance dangerous. For y' wch caused hath thee to lament, Ought to have been the cause of thy content. She hath thee left, whom who so will not leave, Secure shall never live. Dost thou esteeme 50 Yt happines, wch is not permanent? Is fortune deare to thee, who neither doth Constant abide, and when she doth depart Behind her leaveth waylinge wofullnes? 55 Yf neith[er] sure she can contayned be, And when she doth depart, leaves misery: What els is fading fortune but a note Of future miserie? Neith[er] suffice

It doth things set before o[ur] eies, to veiwe. But wisdome constant things event doth prove, 60 Who feares not fortunes frownes, nor seekes her love. Lastlie wth constant mynd abide content Thou must, what so is done in fortunes rule. Under her yoake sith thou dost stand subdu'd. But if to her a lawe thou wilt prelscribe, 65 Whom willinglie thy mistris thou hast made: Commanding her to stay or to depart: Were not y' wronge? And by impatience Thou dost augment thy state of misery, W<sup>ch</sup> is not altered at all thereby. 70 Yf to the winds thy sailes thou dost com[m]it Thou dost not saile whither thy will would wish But whith[er] winds will drive. Yf to the ground Thy seede thou dost commit, dost thou command Fruitfull and barren yeares? To fortunes rule 75 Thy selfe thou yeilded hast, thy Mistris will Thou must obey, yet thou her whirlinge wheele

[9 v]

## Meter 1 · /

To stop dost strive, most simple soft thou art, Yf fortune stand, her nature would depart.

When she in pride her course intendes to change,
Like swellinge tyde, w<sup>ch</sup> raginge like doth range:
She treades downe Kinges, who dreadfull were of late,
And honour bringes to them of base estate.

She hardlie heares the wretched poore mens cryes,
Nor cares for teares of wofull wepinge eies.
She small doth passe for sighinge sobs of greife,
Wherof she was her selfe the Agent cheife. /
She dalieth so, she practizeth her power,
And men doth showe monstrouse events each houre.
Now may you see a man in wealth abounde,
Whom shortly she intendeth to confounde.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> confounde] "u" deleted after first "o" MS

#### Prose · 2 · /

But now<sup>3</sup> wth thee, in fortunes person, I Would argue thus. Wherfore observe this well, Yf lawe may not this thinge of thee requier. / Why dost thou thus (o man) wth plaints me vexe, Me guilty pleadinge still? What iniury 5 Have I thee done? What goodes of thine have I? Concerning right of wealth and dignities Wth mee contend, let who so will be iudge, And if to any man these do thou provest, I frely grant those thine, weh thou requirest. / 10 When nature naked from thy mothers wombe Brought thee forth wanting all things, I thee tooke, Wth my goodes thee sustained, and why then Art thou wth me impatient? Wth love In carefull sort I have the cherished 15 And wth abundance, and wth ornaments Of all my proper goods I have the deckt. My hand now to wthdrawe it is my will, Thanke me for yt my goodes thou hast enjoyd So long, no cause thus to complaine thou hast 20 As if thou wert deprived of thy owne. Why dost thou sigh thefore? I have no wronge Unto thee done! Riches and honours highe And all such like to mee by right pertaine. Like handmaydes these, there lady me account. 25 Wth mee they come, if I goe, they depart. Bouldly I dare affirm, if these were thine Whose want thou waylest, them thou hadst not lost. / Shall I alone my lawfull right to use 30 Controwled be? Tis lawfull for the skyes Sometyme cleare daies, sometymes darke nights to cause. / Tis lawfull for the yeare, the face of earth Wth flowers and fruit, or stormes and cold to change. / Tis lawfull for the Sea a calme to cause, 10 ·[r] Sometyme to rage and swell wth waves and stormes. /

<sup>3</sup> now] the deleted after now MS

<sup>4</sup> will be] wilbe MS

Shall malecontented mynd of man, my waies Alone to constant courses still constraine? This is my power, this sport I exercise My whirlinge whele full fast about I turn. Things lowe wth highe, and highe wth low I match. / 40 Ascend at pleasure thine, yet if my play Bid thee discend, disdain not to obey. / My wonted use hast thou not understood? Hast thou not knowne that Croesus Lydian Kinge Whom Cyrus feared much not longe before, 45 Captive became to him wthin a while. Who cast into the flaminge fire to dy Safe from the same by storm from sky did scape? / Pallus hast thou forgot? Whom pittie moved Wth trickling teares, the woes of Persian Kinge 50 Captive to him subdued, to lament? What els do cryes of tragedies bewayle, But yt dame fortune Kingdomes doth5 subverte? In Athens yong hast thou not learned late. That in Ioves porch of wine two vessels ly, 55 Wherof the one is good, the oth[er] bad. What if of good more store, thou hast enjoyed? What if from thee I wholely am not fledd? What if this change iust cause, for thee to hope For future happines in tyme procure? 60 Yet howsoever, let thy mynd be firme. And sith thou art in common state of life. Wth all mankind, cease this unlawfull strife. /

## [Meter 2]

If Lady Abaundance should open her dore, Vouchsafinge to man much gould and riches store: Heapinge as Sea doth sand, discharge uppon the land, Or thicke as starres do stand,

Men weepe for more. /

Though God in benignity no good denieth, But wealth and dignity franckly applieth:

<sup>5</sup> doth] th inserted above with caret after "o"

For all such favour greate, it semeth nothinge yet, But gapinge still to get

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for more he cryeth. /

What reason can lymits set to such desire, When thirstines more to gett burnes as a fire? Though man in wealth abound, such have not riches found, Whom waylinge want doth wounde

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More to require. / [10 v]

#### Pro: 3 .

If thus should fortune in lawe wth thee pleade No cause to contradict her could you showe. / But if by right you can yo[ur] cause6 confirme Spare not to speake I freely give you leave. / Bo: These reasons verilie are singuler, Wth Rethoricke and Musicke sauced sweete. So longe as they are hard they do delight, But sharper sence of harmes men wretched have. / Wherfore noe soner you had ceast to speeke, But gripinge greife my hart began to breake. / Ph: A truth it is. These are not cures of greife, But light p[re]paretives more fitt for cure Thy maladie to make. For stronge receipts W<sup>ch</sup> deeper peirce, hereafter I will use. But lest thie selfe in wofull state thou iudge The manifould and worthy happines Wch thou dost still eniove, hast thou forgott? I cease to shewe the care of cheifest men To thee an Orphan shew'd, elected fitt To marry in the race of Princes cheife, And yt wch in nere freindshipp doth excell Beloved first, then maryed you were. Who will not thee most fortunate account? When as they shall consider the Renowne And honour of the father of thy wife, And shall respect thy vertuous wife, and sonnes.

I here omitt (for common goodes I passe)

<sup>6</sup> cause] cause deleted after cause MS

The honours of thy youth on thee bestowed, Wch many older men deserved not. Thy heape of happines I only touch, 30 Yf any part of happines remaine, In mortall state, may then the memory Of thy renowne by any heapes of harmes, Be blotted out of mynd? Where as thou hast Thy sonnes both7 Consuls at one tyme beheld, 35 Attended on by many Senators, Brought from theire howse wth multitudes applause. When they in court on judgmente seate were set Thou beinge chosen Orator didst win[n]e Of wit and flowinge eloquence the fame. / 40 When thou betwen the Consuls both thy sonnes The expectac[i]on of the standers by With loftie speach didst fully satisfie. Dame fortune thou I think deceived hast While thee her cheife delight she hath extoll'd8 45 Such gift as never unto private man She would impart, from her thou taken hast. Wilt thou with fortune therfore cast account? With lowringe° loke now first on thee shee frownes Yf thou of ioies, and of thy fate adverse 50 The nu[m]ber and the manner dost observe: Thy state as yet happie thou must confesse. / But if thy state thou deem'st unfortunate, Because thy seminge9 ioves are banished: Yet maist thou not be thought in wretched state, 55 Because thy seming greifes are vanished. / Dost thou uppon the stage of mortal fate Now first on suddaine stranger like ascend? What constancie doth rest in humaine state? Sith unto man death will procure an end. / 60 Thoughe fortune chaunce to stay, yet death is death Of fortune left thee. What odes canst thou make

11 [r]

<sup>7</sup> both] "o" deleted after "o" MS

<sup>8</sup> extoll'd] extolld MS

<sup>9</sup> seminge] word deleted after seminge MS

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Then wheth[er]10 thou by yeildinge upp thy breath Leave her, or she by flyeinge, thee forsake? /

Meter 3 · /

When Phoebus bright His beames begins to showe, In charet cleare. Starres at his light Obscurred darke doe growe And pale appeare.

When trees in springe While Zephyr milde doth raigne Are deckt with flowres: Stormes shortly bringe Them to decline againe By winters showres. /

Oft tymes wee find A calme on surginge sease 15 And storme doth cease. Oft Boreas wind Againe doth tempest rayse Without release. /

If mortall state 20 Doth so abide unsure. Then no state trust: Nothinge by fate Can constant longe endure,

25 But change it must. /

#### Prose · 4 ·

Bo: A true relac[i]on (Nurse of vertues all) Thou here hast made, neither the race most swift Of former happines may I deny. But this my mynd recaling much doth vexe:

5 For in the miseries of fortunes fate, [11 v]

<sup>10</sup> wheth[er]] "h" inserted above with caret after "w"

To have been happie, is most wofull state. Ph: But for as much as thou deceived art To thine estate thou maist no fault impute. 11 For if vaine name of fraile felicity Forpassed late, doth thy unrest procure, 10 Consider then how many and how greate Abundant blessings yet wth thee remaine. / If then what thinge in fortunes treasure cheife Thou hast enioy'd, by providence devine, The same to thee p[re]served is untoucht. 15 Canst thou best giftes retayninge, yet complaine Of thy mishap? In saffety Symmachus Y' worthie gemme the father of thy wife As yet doth live, and yt wch dearer ought Of thee to be esteemed then thy life, 20 A man he is both wise and vertuous. / Careles of his, but carefull for thy wronges. Thy modest wife in saftie likewise lives, / In shamefast chastitie who doth excell. And yt I breiflie may her gifts relate, 25 Her fathers vertues she doth imitate. She lives I say her life esteeming nought, ffor thee she only doth the same conserve. / Wherein thy happines only declineth, Wth teares and greife for want of thee, she pineth. / 30 Thy children Senators what should I touche? In whom (as much as may appeare in youth The Image of their Auncestors is seen. / Sith then mans cheifest care is of his life 35 Oh happie thou if thou thie state dydst<sup>12</sup> knowe) Who yet possessest these more deare then life. / Cease then thy cares, fortune doth not much frowne. / Nor sturdie stormes thy ship do much assaile. For freinds like ancors fixed firme remaine.

11 impute] art deleted with ute inserted above with caret

40

Who p[re]sent comfort neither will refraine,

<sup>12</sup> dydst] dost altered to dydst ("y" inserted into word after first "d" and "o" modified to second "d")

12 [r]

Nor hope<sup>13</sup> of future good will backe detaine. / B: And longe may they remaine, I humbley pray, For they remaining, howsoever waves Of woe my ship shall tosse, I shall swime out. / But14 yet how much from former dignity 45 Hereby I am disgradedo you may see. Ph: Somewhat wth thee I see wee have p[re]vailed In yt in mynd thou art not whole dejected, Yet may not I thy nicenes° suffer longe. / 50 In y' some great defect of happines In mornefullwise thou dost as yet deplore. / ffor who is seated so in setled state, Who will not blame sometymes sinister fate. / Crossed wth cares is mans most cheife content, Wch eith[er] will not whole to one become, 55 Or els will not endure still permanent. One man in wealth doth wallow, whom base bloud Obscureth much. Anoth[er] noblenes Of bloud doth blaze abroad, yet povertie 60 Restraining him, hee seekes to live 15 obscure / Anoth[er] havinge wealth and noble bloud The want of wedlocke wailes. Another man Havinge a vertuous wife, doth children want, Who heapeth riches up for oth[er] men. / Anoth[er] having isue, yet wth teares 65 His sonne or daughters want of grace bewailes. / Hence none wth their estate do rest content. For many things men knowe not till they try, W<sup>ch</sup> havinge proved they detestinge fly. / Moreover in mans prosperous estate 70 Their sence is passinge delicate and nice,° / Unles at hartes desire all things succede, Because they are not wont to any crosse, Wth trifles small their mynd surprised is. So litle lets do interrupt the state 75 Of them, who seeme to be most fortunate.

13 hope] "o" deleted after "o" MS

But] inserted in left margin
 live] secure deleted after live MS

How many live, who would in world of ioyes Themselves account, if of the relickes left Of thine estate, they might least part eniove? This very place w<sup>ch</sup> thou exile dost call, 80 To the Inhabitants is native soyle, For nothinge I do miserable deeme, Save yt wch mans conceite doth so esteeme. Contrarywise all states are good to men, If man endure them wth a patient mynd. 85 Who is so fortunate wch would not wishe In his impatiency, his state to change? Wth many bitter pills mans best estate Thoughe seeminge sweete, is sawced now and then, Wch thoughe to him who doth the same enjoye 90 It pleasant show, yet when it will depart Cannot by any means retained be. Wherfore all mortall creatures happines Mixed wth miserie, imperfect is, Wch constant staies not, wth mynds patient: 95 Nor mynds perplexed doth at all content. [12 v] Why then (o mortall men) in outward things Felicitie, wch is internall set Wthin yo[ur] mynds, do you so fondly seeke? Error and ignorance yo[ur] sence confound. / 100 Of cheife felicitie the roote and springe I here will breifly showe. Is anythinge To thee, then is thy selfe, more precious? Thou wilt say nothinge: then unles thy mind Rashly distracted thee, thou shalt possesse 105 What never thou wilt afterward forgoe, Or fortune can from thee by force surprice.° And yt in such fraile things thou maist conceive Felicity cannot consist. Thus prove Yf happines be natures sovereigne good, 110 And yt may not be counted happines Wch from thee any way may be depriv'd, Because what cannot faile is demed best: Tis plaine that fortunes instabilitie, Cannot attaine to true felicitie. / 115 Further whom such fraile happines extolls,

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Her changinge state he eithr doth perceive, Or els therof he must be ignorant. Yf he be ignorant, what happines Where ignorance remains, may wee expect? 120 But if he knowe it, then he must needs feare Lest, what hee knowes is mutable, he lose, So endles feare bereaves his happines. / Suppose if one it loose, he should esteeme 125 The same to be dispised as a toy, In such case it were but a simple good, Wch being lost must not of worth be waighed. / And thou because by sundry arguments Thy mynd I knowe resolved is yt soules Of mortall men end not wth bodies death: 130 And whereas it is clear, that death doth end All worldlie happines wch man can have, It may not be denied, if death bereave Felicity, then men by meanes of death In miserable case<sup>16</sup> are wretched made. / 135 But sith we knowe by death and tortures rage Many have wisely sought for happines,

> How can this p[re]sent life men happie make, W<sup>ch</sup> wretched makes not them who life forsake?

#### Meter 4 .

13 /[r]

What man so ever will wisely his house erect,
Contrivinge it with skill firme to resist the wind:
And seated so to stand, as waves it may reject,
On hills or thirsty sand, no safe place can he find.
Mountaines by windes unsure to him will yeild no place:
Nor sinkinge Sandes endure to beare great weight long space.

Remember, if you would both dangers these eschew,
The firme meane rock to hould, where build not over highe:
Though windes, or Surginge Seas threat ruins to ensue,
Yet thou in quiet ease as in a towre shalt ly:
Secure w<sup>th</sup> such defense, waled on every syde,
All sturdy stormes offence safly thou maist deride.

<sup>16</sup> case] "u" deleted after "a" MS

#### Prose 5 /

But for so much into thy mynd more deepe My arguments descend (now medicine More forcible to use I judge it fitt)<sup>17</sup> Admit these gifts of fortune were not frayle What is there in wch may be counted thine 5 Or wch observed duly is not base? Are riches p[re]cious in regard of yo[ur] Or of their nature? What in them is great? Whether is gould and monyes heapes of price? 10 But gould by spendinge doth his valew showe Much rather then by hould fast hordinge up. / For averice doth make men odious, But bounty allwaies maketh glorious. Now if wth man yt cannot longer stay Wch unto others use translated is, 15 Mony then worthy is, when from thy self To others use it is transferred cleane. Yf wealth of all the world by one alone Were hoarded, oth[ers] all would poor become, And wth one voice all would alike bewayle. 20 Yo[ur] wealth also, save by diminishing, To many cannot parted be at once: W<sup>ch</sup> beinge done it needs them poor must make Who unto oth[ers] do the same in part. 25 O slender then and nedie is such wealth. Whom many neith[er] wholely can enjoy, Nor any but by other mens anoy: Do glitteringe gemmes transparent eies delight?

Yf in their brightnes any worth appeare,

There light to them, and not to men, belonge. /

Whom I admyre, to see men so esteeme.

ffor what thinge wantting soule, and members frame

Of livinge reasonable creatures ought,

Rightlie to be esteemed beautifull?

Wh though by reason of Gods wisdome deepe In their creation and theire formes distinct Some beauty small they have, yet far below [13 v]

<sup>17</sup> fitt)] fitt MS

Yofur] worth, should not at all be honoured soe. Doth beauty of the feilds yo[ur] mynd delight? 40 Bo: Why not? Wheras it is a porcsilon faire Of the most beautiful created world, So, to behould calme Seas we oft reioyce, So firmament and twinkling starres to view, The Sunne and Moone wee likewise do admyre. Ph: Doth anyone of these thy selfe concern? 45 Or in theire glory wilt thou vainely boast? Wth fragrant vernall flowers art thou adorn'd? Dost thou the Sommers fruitfullnes procure? Wth vaine delights, why art thou so deceav'd? Externall goods for thine why dost thou count? 50 Fortune can never cause these to be thine. Wch nature from thy selfe estranged hath. The fruites of earth, wthout all doubt, are made Creatures wth nurrishment for to sustaine. 55 But if to helpe you, Natures wants you crave, Fortunes abundance never wish you have. ffor Nature is wth litle things content. Whom if wth things superfluous you loade, Unpleasant, or els hurtfull to thy selfe It will become, wch is more then enough. 60 Perhapps in change of garments p[re]cious To be attired goodly show doth seeme, Wherof if any ornament appeare Unto the nature of the stuffe, or els 65 Unto the workemans witt the praise is due. Doth servants ample traine thee happie make, Who if they vicious be, unto thy howse Pernicious burden are, and to the lord Therof, exceedinge enimies, they prove. Yf vertuous they be, there worthines 70 To be thy goodes how canst thou make account? Hereby yt none of these are thine appeares, W<sup>ch</sup> thou amongst thy goods esteemed hast Wherin if goodnes none remain to have them, Why dost thou waile their want, or joy to save them. 14 '[r] 75 But if by nature these are beautifull, What is yt unto thee? For of themselves

These had ben as delightfull every way, Yf from thy goodes they had been sequestred. Neither they therfore are more p[re]cious, 80 Because they were amongst thy former wealth: But rath[er], in yt they did worthy seeme, Amongst thy substance thou didst them account. But what wth such turmoyle do you require? I thinke wth wealth your wants to ease you seeke. / 85 But oth[er]wise wth you it falleth out. ffor many helps men neede, a sumptuous howse Wth rich variety for to maintaine. And true is this, yt many things those want, Who many things possesse. And lesse they neede, 90 Who measure theire abundance by necessity Of nature, not regardinge superfluitie. / Is no internall good ordayned you By nature, yt in such externall things Yo[ur] cheifest goodes to seeke you enterprice? 95 So should the course of things perverted be Y' so divine a creature as is man Endu'd wth reason, should not happie be But by the use and sole possession Of goods externall, wanting vitall life. / 100 All creatures els wth nature rest content. But you whose mynd like to 18 Gods image shines, From basest things do covet ornaments To make you happie, neith[er] do you knowe, 105 What wronge to yo[ur] creator hence doth growe. Above all creatures he mankind would grace, But you p[re]fer such trash as is most base. ffor if of every thinge the cheifest good More worthie be, then is the thing it self: Wheras yo[ur] good, the base things you account 110 Yo[ur] selves to them, as baser, you submit. / Wch not unworthely doe come to passe, For this of humaine nature is the state

That then alone, when man him selfe doth knowe

All creatures els by much he doth surmount:

<sup>18</sup> to] inserted above with caret

But if this state to understand he cease Inferior unto beasts he doth become. / Nature to beastes their state would never showe. But man ought perfectlie him selfe to knowe. How farre doth error yo[urs] it selfe extend? 120 [14 v] In yt wth oth[er] ornaments so strange, A thing may be adorned you esteeme, / But yt may by no meanes effected be. / For if in things externall, worthines Doth showe it selfe, the praise to them belongs. 125 And whatsoever is their wth adorned Remaineth (not wth standing such attire) Not changed from the former base estate. / Moreov[er] I deny such thing is good, / W<sup>ch</sup> hurteth him who doth the same enjoy. / 130 Is this untruth I speake? You will say, no. / But riches often times do damnifie Those men, who have them in possession. Wheras bad men, the skume of all mankind Who after other mens possessions gape, 135 What gould or iewells may atchived be Account them only worthiest of all, Who do such vanities in store possesse. Thou then who ever speare and sword dost feare Wth doubtfull dread, if in this vale of life 140 An empty passinger thou haddest been Careles<sup>19</sup> before a theife thou migh'st have songe O worthy happines of riches sure Which when men have they leave to live secure. /

# Meter 5 /

Thrice happie was the old forepassed tyme,
Which with manuringe of ground was content,
No prodigalities consuminge cryme
Was seene, but acornes oft for meate were<sup>20</sup> spent:
When wine w<sup>th</sup> hony boyled was not used,
When purple silke for garments was refused.

19 Careles] word deleted before Careles MS

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> were] two letters deleted after "w" with first "e" inserted above

Grasse then instead of beds sweete sleepe did give, Rivers did give drinke fitt for men to live. /

The pine trees shadow then gave place to dwell,

No marchant then adventured so far:

Strange marchendize for to transport to sell

No trumpets call did summon then to warre. /

No bloudy battails nourished by hate.

For why should warlike furie move debate?

When woundes by warie wisdome men did see

No recompence of bloudshed for to be.

15 /[r]

O would to God that our declininge age
Would now encline unto such manners old:
But covetouse<sup>21</sup> desire doth range and rage,
Like Ætna's fire, possessions more to hould. /
In former tymes what wretched man, alas,
Of goulden mines the first inventor was?
Or whose device first needles iewels found,
Which dangers are of price longe hid in ground? /

## Prose 6 · /

Concerninge dignities and princelie powers, Wch you, not knowinge true Renowne and might, To heaven do extole, what should I speake? Who if ungodlie man attaine to have, What harm by Ætna's flashinge flames more greate, 5 Or overflowinge flouds more havocke make? Doubtles (as I suppose thou dost remember) Yo[ur] Ancesto[urs], the Consulls government, W<sup>ch</sup> of theire freedome was originall, For their exceedinge pride abolish would. 10 Who for like pride before would not<sup>22</sup> sustaine The name of Kinge over their state to reigne. But if (wch is full rare) on worthie man Honours imposed are for their desert, What oth[er] thinge in them admyred is, 15

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> covetouse] "u" deleted after "t" MS

<sup>22</sup> would not] inserted above with caret

Except their vertues wch they exercise? Wherby it comes to passe that dignitie To vertue doth not honour give at all: But rath[er] unto worldlie dignities, From vertue princelie honour doth pertaine. / 20 What is this pompous power wch you wish[?] Do not you<sup>23</sup> understand (o mortall men): Over how seelyo things you seeme to raigne? For if amongst the Mice someone to claime 25 Title or maiestie amongst the rest Thou didst espie, couldst thou refraine to laugh? / Now if mans body you respect aright What thinge more impotent, then wretched man Can you find out? Whom often smallest flies, 30 By bitinge or by crepinge into them Through inward passages do hurt or slay. / And can mans puissaunce further extend Over their subjects then<sup>24</sup> the body sole, And over yt wch is inferior 35 To bodies much? (their substance fraile I meane) Mans free will to thy scepter canst thou tame? A mynd by reason firme established From state of constant resolucijon. Art thou by force able for to remove? 40 When on a tyme a Tyrant purposed Wth punishments, a worthie constant man To force, conspiraces complotted there By some against his person to bewraye:° His tounge the man did bite from out his mouth, And in the face of raginge Tyrant threw. / 45 So tortures weh the Tyrant ment to make The meanes to practize savage cruelty, That constant man made to expresse fidelity. / And what can man against a man effect, Wch by anoth[er] may not be repaid? 50 Busiris (as the histories record) Accustomed him selfe his guests to slay,

[15 v]

23 you,] you MS

<sup>24</sup> then] inserted above with caret

At last by Hercules his guest was slain. / The Carthaginian captives not a fewe, 55 Though Regulus had into prison cast, Captive to them yet shortlie he became. Then thinkest thou such man can be of power, Who what he can to other men effect, Others likewise may backe to him repaie? 60 Further if in Renowne and princlie power Were any naturall and proper good, Unto bad men they never would descend. For in things contrary no concord is, Their nature is not to concurre in one. Then for so much as often wicked men 65 To honourable place wee see are called Nature doth not yt to be good account, W<sup>ch</sup> w<sup>th</sup> bad men is wont for to remaine. / Wch thinge to all dame fortunes ornaments 70 May not unworthelie imputed bee. Wch commonlie to the most naughtie men In more abundant sort imparted are. Concerninge whom this is to be observ'd, That no man doubts such one is valiant 75 In whom a mynd couragious doth appeare: Who swiftnes hath is to be counted swifte. So musicks skill maketh Musitians. Knowledge of phisicke doth Phisitians make, And skill rethoricall an Orator. 80 For nature in all things doth y' effect Wch unto everythinge peculiar is. Neith[er] doth she, effects of div[ers] things Repugnant in them selves, rashly confound, But things weh are in Nature contrary 85 She allwaies warily distinguisheth: But riches neith[er] quench mans avarice, Nor rule can make such man him selfe to rule Whom lawles lusts in fetters firm retaine. And hono[urs] on bad men imposed, oft 90 Therby they do not more renowned grow, But rath[er] their unworthines do showe.

How cometh this so strange event to passe?

16 /[r]

100

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For you, such names unfit to many things W<sup>ch</sup> are in truth unworthie of the same Are wont to give, w<sup>ch</sup> by their owne effects Theire greate indignity them selves bewray.° So neith[er] riches yo[urs] are wealth in truth, Nor mortall powre may be esteemed might.

Nor dignity of man doth worthely
Deserve the name of hono<sup>r</sup>, duly stand:
Lastlie concerninge fortunes goodes ech one
The same I may conclude, wherin tis plaine
Nothinge deserveth to be wished much,
Neith[er] therin is any native good

For to good men they are not allwaies prest,
Nor make men good w<sup>th</sup> whom they most do rest.

## Meter 6 · /

Wee know what ruines Nero Tyrant wrought.
Rome by him burn'd and Senators were slayne,
Brother he slew securely for to raigne,
In mothers wombe this bloudy boucher sought
To view the place whence hee to world was brought,
Not greiv'd to see her shame and death sustain.

Yet Realmes this Tyrant rul'd with mighty mace Which are dispersed farre from East<sup>25</sup> to west: Cold North, and skorchinge South he had possest. Could then this monsters mynd, in any case Corrected be, by havinge princely place? O, happ most hard were bloudy Tyrants rest.

[16 v]

## Pro: 7 ·

B: You knowe that arrogant ambition
Of Kingdomes rule hath not me over rul'd
But the occation fit to be employ'd
In the affaires of native com[m]on wayle
I did desire, lest in obscurity
Vertue unexercised hid should ly. /
Ph: Doubtles this is a thinge w<sup>ch</sup> worthy mynds

<sup>25</sup> East] letter deleted after "E" MS

By Nature, yet not brought to ripenes full Of vertues habit, quicklie may alure, 10 Namely desire of glorious name, and fame Of great deserts, on common wealth bestowed. / Wch of how slender reputac[i]on Voyd of all weight it is, I argue thus: That all the earth compared to the skies, (As demonstrac[i]on Astrologicall 15 Hath heretofore at large instructed thee) Hath but proporcsilon of a pricke, tis plaine: / So as if you respect of heavens globe The spacious, and ample magnitude, 20 The earth as nothinge in account doth seeme. And scarce the fourth parte26 of this little earth (As Ptolomeus hathe thee lately taught) By livinge creatures weh are to us known, Remaineth at this day inhabited, 25 If from this fourth part you in mynd subtract So much as Seas and marshes overflowe, And parts inhabitable made by heate, Most narrow space where men inhabiteth<sup>27</sup> Will then remain in this subtraction<sup>28</sup> Then if in least point of so<sup>29</sup> slender bounds 30 Environed you are, to spreade yofur] fame Or blaze abroad yo[ur] name whie do you seeke? Can fame and ample glory their remayne Wher earthes streight lymets do the same containe? 35 Moreover in this narrow mansion place Inhabit many nations different In tounge, in manners, and in course of lyfe, To whom both<sup>30</sup> for the dangers of the way, And for the disagreing languages,

As allso for the want of trafficks use, Not only fame of private men can fly

40

<sup>26</sup> parte] "r" inserted above with caret

<sup>27</sup> inhabiteth] te inserted above with caret

<sup>28</sup> subtraction] "i" inserted above with caret

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> so] inserted above with caret <sup>30</sup> both] "o" deleted after "o" MS

But also famous citties are unknowne. / In Tullies tyme, as he him selfe doth writ, 17 [r] The fame of Romaine Empire glorious, Beyond Mount Caucasus had not been heard:31 45 Wch not wthstandinge unto Parthians spread, And Nations neare adjoyninge feared was. Wherfore dost not thou understandinge see How narrow bounds do glorious name include: Wch men to propagate and spreade contend? 50 Sith fame could not transporte the Romaine name, How should a private Romaine seek the same? Furth[er] the lawes and manners disagree In divers countries: so what some com[m]end, 55 Others as punishment deservinge will condemne. Wherby it comes to passe if ample fame Dispersed wide shall any man delight In<sup>32</sup> cuntries distant farre to blaze his name By no meanes shall availeable become. 60 Wherefore contented every man must rest Amongst his owne to have his glory spread, Whose cheife renowned immortallitie Wthin one Nations bounds must curbed be. How many men in theire daies most admyred 65 Hath now oblivious most ungratefull vice, In silence buried thorough writers faulte? Yet what can histories wth glory crowne, Whom wth their Authors tract of tyme will drowne? But you, o men, to sowe immortall seeds A name unto yo[ur] selfe supposinge seeme, 70 When future<sup>33</sup> fame you doe propound to reape. But if wth tymes eternity you would Make the comparison, what reason then Of names continuance have you to boast? For why? One moment, to tenn thowsande yeares 75 Yf you compare, beinge both<sup>34</sup> finit tymes,

31 heard] "e" inserted above

33 future] futrue MS

<sup>32</sup> In] "n" inserted above with caret

<sup>34</sup> both] "o" deleted after "o" MS

[17 v]

They have, though smale, yet some proporc[i]ons place: But all those yeares, or many thowsand more, Respectinge endles tymes continuance, Have not at all comparison. For why 80 Betwen things finite, is proporcfilon some, But not betwen things infinite at all. / So longest fame, compared to eternity, Not only small, but nothinge seemes to be. / Most men, unles base popularity, 85 And rumors vaine did haughty harts incite, Would not attempt exploits of good reporte: But leavinge conscience and vertues worth, From sillie fames bare words do seeke reward. Behould such arrogance<sup>35</sup> and vainest pride 90 How pleasantly one taunting did deride. When he another man abused had Who not for vertues sake, but glories pride, Would be esteemed a Philosopher:36 95 And havinge added he would shortlie try Wheth[er] a right Philosopher he were indeed, For then he would, wthout impatience, All offred iniuryes gentle sustaine. / The man him selfe a while wth patience arm'd, 100 At last insultinge over such reproche, How dost thou not, said he, perceive I am A right Philosopher? The other then In quippinge sort thus girded at his brage.° I had perceiv'd<sup>37</sup> you to be such a one, Yf you yo[ur] silence had continued. / 105 But what unto those excellentest men. (Of them I speake who fame by vertue seeke) What parte of fame, I say, doth after death To them pertaine? Put case° men wholely dy Both soules and bodies, (wch my arguments 110 Soundly confute) no glory then at all To them can appertaine, because the man

35 arrogance] arogancy MS

<sup>36</sup> Philosopher] Pholosopher MS

<sup>37</sup> perceiv'd] "e" deleted after "v" MS; perceiv'd] perceivd MS

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Whose fame is celebrated and extoll'd
Hath no existence in the world at all. /
But if the unpolluted soule of man
Dissolved from the bodies prison base,
Into the heavens freely doth ascend:
Earthlie Renowne will not that soule despice,

Earthlie Renowne will not that soule despice From earth exempt, enjoying happie skies?

#### Meter 7

Who glory rashly requireth or only recounteth a cheife gemme, If he revolve but a right comparinge hugenes of heavens With litle earth verie like to a point, in quanty smalest, Then to reioyce of a name advanced on earth is a madnes. / Why do the proude meditate to reiect mortallity vainely? Though very farre glory spreade to the furthest corner in all costs, Also thy howse title hould very high, Death vaine glory skorneth Endeth alike all states myseries with dignity matchinge. / Where be the bones to be seen of worthy Fabricius? And where Now doth abide noble Brutus? Or else wary Cato severest? Name naked only remaines that in history resteth of all these. / But to what end selyonames can availe? Can a dead body know them? Dead men, alas, do not heare, nor fame can againe so recall them. But if you count it a life to be keept by the voice of a vaine name, Names memory perishing in tyme: Death endeth againe fame.

## Prose 8 · /

18 [r]

Against dame fortune, she sometymes, I grant,
Of men to be com[m]ended doth deserve.
Namely when she her visage doth unmaske,
And doth her nature manifestly show. /
Perchaunce what I pronounce you skarce perceive.
A wonder here I purpose to relate,
But words my meaninge to disclose I want
For more available I iudge adversity,
For man, then fortunes steps in proud prosperity.
For vaine prosperity under p[re]tence
Of true felicity, marchinge in pompe<sup>38</sup>

But lest I over feirce seeme to wage warr

<sup>38</sup> pompe] whole word over-written in darker ink

Doth counterfeit, w<sup>th</sup> vaine dißemblinge showes. Adversity, simplicity retains,

- Who showes her state unstable still to<sup>39</sup> change,
  The one deceiveth, th'oth[er] doth instruct.
  The one under true gooddnes<sup>40</sup> painted vaile
  Bewitcheth mynds of men who her enioy:
  The oth[er] doth man free, instructing him
- That mortall happines inconstant is.

  Wherefore the one to be fraile, wavering,
  And ignorant of her inconstancy,
  You may observe: wheras adversity
  Is sober, discret, and by exercise
- In miseries affaires, becometh wise.

  Lastlie prosperities by flatteries

  From soveraigne happines seduceth man

  Adversity w<sup>th</sup>draweth oft the mynd

  Reducinge man felicity to finde.
- Dost thou this good amongst the least account,
  That frowninge fortune by her austere chaunge
  Who were thy freinds unfained hath reveal'd?
  She hath distinguished betwen thy freinds,
  And fawninge foes, she hath discovered
- Wheras thy former vaine prosperity
  Departinge from thee, she unconstant harts
  Removed hath, leavinge thy freinds unfain'd.
  What wouldest thou have given so to know
  Thy freinds from foes, when y<sup>t</sup>, as thou dost iudge,
  Thy state did florish fortunate appearing?<sup>41</sup>
- Thy state did florish fortunate appearing?<sup>41</sup>

  Cease then to wail the losse of wealth so sore. /

  Freinds thou hast found the derest riches store. /

# Meter 8

Divine love, moderatinge earth and seas, Who also highest heavens guidinge swayes, Such order doth in Natures courses tye: That therby permanent the world doth stand,

[18 v]

<sup>39</sup> to] word deleted after to MS

<sup>40</sup> gooddnes] letters over-written as dd in darker ink

<sup>41</sup> appearing?] "," deleted with "?" inserted above

15

5 Changinge the seasons w<sup>th</sup> a stable hand, That every tyme succeds in harmony.

> That Elements, who are repugnant farre, In fellowship concordinge cease from iar,° Whose naturall instinct would else have fought: That dawninge day returnes by Phœbus light, That Phœbe governeth the starry night, Which Hesperus had in the evening brought.

That swellinge Sea doth boystrous billowes keepe, Containinge them in lymitts of the deepe, So as earthes boundes it may not overflowe: This love divine, if raines it should remitt, The things w<sup>th</sup> now by naturall love are knitt, Debate disorderinge soone would overthrowe.

- And heavens frame w<sup>th</sup> orderly doth move

  Combined with sweete sosiable love,

  To ruine desolate would come, and end:

  This love doth people in firme leauge contain

  United w<sup>th</sup> inviolable chaine,

  This love doth wedlockes bounds syncere defend.
- 25 Lastly this love betwixt true freinds doth cause Uncounterfeited frindships constant lawes, Without dissemblinge gloses firme to bide:

  O happie thrice it were unto mankind If such love would vouchsafe to rule mans mynd, Which heavens motions all doth firmely guide.

THE · PHYSICKE <sup>1</sup> · OF · PHILOSOPHIE <sup>2</sup>
compiled by Anicius Manlius Torquatus
Severinus Boethius touchinge
the consolation of Lady
Philosophie in the
tyme of his exile /

The third booke contayninge stronger receipts purginge forceably his errors shewing also wherin true ~ ~ happines consisteth /

The first prose · /

B: Her sonnet then she ended, when delight
Of verses sweete my mynd so ravished,
That still attentive more to heare, I stoode.
Wherfore a litle afterwards I sayd:<sup>3</sup> /
O sollace swetest unto feeble mynds
Wth gravest sentences and harmony
How much have you my troubled mynd refrest!
So as wth fortunes forces, I now iudge
My selfe, for to encounter, not unfitt. /
And phisicke wth before was sowre, you said,

10 And phisicke w<sup>ch</sup> before was sowre, you said, I hunger to receive nothinge dismay'd. / P. I knewe thy thoughts, said she, when first I sawe My words attentively thou didst observe.

W<sup>ch</sup> state of mynd I partlie did expect,

In thee (or to speake truth) I did procure. /
For remydies remaininge are as gall
Bitter in tast, but yet received sweete.

1 PHYSICKE] "c" inserted above with caret and written in darker ink

5

19 [r]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Philosophie] second "h" inserted above with caret; THE PHYSICKE OF PHILOSOPHIE] THE PHYSICKE OF PHILOSOPHIE MS

<sup>3</sup> sayd:] sayd. MS

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But you in yt to hear, you say, you thirst How would yo[ur] kindled coles more ardent growe Yf whith[er] I you leade you plaine did knowe? 20 Bo: Whith[er] said I?4 P. To true felicitie Quoth she, wherof thy mynd hath also dream'd But sith thine eies vaine shadowes dazeled have, Clearely the truth you cannot yet behould. Bo: Leade me, said I entirelie I you praye, 25 And happie truth to me wth speede reveale. Ph: Gladly, said she, for thy sake will I shew Wherin felicity consisteth true. But seeminge truth wch nearer is to thee I first in words will here delineate 30 W<sup>ch</sup> when you shall apparantly perceive, And shall to contraries yo[ur] mynd adresse, You may conceive what is true happines. /

## Meter 1 /

Who so will sowe
His fertil land,
Letteth not weede
Theirin remaine:
Nor lets briers growe,
Nor ferne to stand,
That he may speede
Of store of graine.
The hony tast more pleasant bringes
Yf first thou hast feedd of sowre thinges. /

[19 v]

The starres do shine
More gratefully,
When Southren winde
Doth cease to raigne,
Aurora fine
Adornes the sky
When darknes blinde
Is cleansed cleane.

<sup>4</sup> I?] I. MS

So shalt thou see first goods untrue, After to thee true goodes ensue.

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#### Prose 2 · / ·

She stedfast fixinge then awhile her eies, And as it were retyringe all her thoughts Into the secret closet of her mynd, She thus begun[n]e. P: All care of mortall man W<sup>ch</sup> he by studie manifold doth take In pathes most different doth marchinge goe, Yet not wth standinge to a happie state Mans mynd endeavoureth still to attaine, Wch goodnes is, wch if a man atcheive None can require to gaine a furth[er] end. For this of all good things cheifest doth rest And doth therin all good thinges else containe. Wherin if want theire were, it were not best, Because somethinge externall it should want. Then happines is such a perfect state Where all good thinges concurre most fortunate. / This, as I said, all men doe seeke to have, But yet one path men do not theire to take, For naturall desire and inclinacijon To cheifest good in man engrafted is, But them to vanities error doth leade. Wherof some men accountinge happines Nothinge to want, in wealth seeke to abound Some judginge honours true felicitie, Of Cittizens to be saluted strive. Some placinge happines in princely power, Will eyth[er] have the scepter in their hand, Or Princes favourits will ayme to bee. / Oth[ers] who fame renowned most esteeme By skill in warr or peace to celebrate

His glorious name to skies endevoureth. /

As those who riches covet to attaine

Most men their cheifest good by ioy do measure, Who take *delight* to wallow in their pleasure. / Some these ends seeke one for anothers sake.

That theirby power and pleasures they may wyn,

20 [r]

Or els who power requier for riches sake, Or to advance their fame uppon the earth. / In these and in such like the whole intent And scope of humaine actions, and desires 40 Alone consisteth, as nobility And favour populer, weh may to fame And glory be referred properly, A wife<sup>5</sup> and children for sweete pleasure are 45 Of men so much desired and embraced. And freinds wch are most sacred lincke of all In vertue not in fortune I repute, All oth[er] acc[i]ons man doth undertake Either for power, or els for pleasures sake. 50 Now for the bodies goods tis evident That to the former kinds they may be brought For strength and stature great resemble power, Bewtie and nimblenes a glorious fame, Soundnes of health may be refer'd to pleasure. / 55 Of all whom only true felicity Is aymed at, and wished, it is plaine. For, what above all oth[er] things wee wish, That thinge as goodnes principall we count. But goodnes cheife, to be beatitude 60 Before wee have recounted and defined Wherefore above the rest what one requireth, That counting happines he most desireth.<sup>7</sup>/ Before thine eies the forme of happie state In some sort have I sett to be beheld 65 Namely wealth, honour, maiestie, glory, And pleasures wch the Epicurean sect Solely considering, by consequence Pleasure to be cheife good, did rashly deeme. Because the other all into the mynd 70 Pleasure to yeild doth manifestlie seeme. / But to mans drifts I now againe retourne,8

8 retourne,] retourne. MS

<sup>5</sup> wife] "e" deleted after "w" MS

<sup>6</sup> desired] "o" deleted after "i" MS

<sup>7</sup> desiereth] "o" deleted after "i" MS

[20 v]

Whose mynds affection, thoughe, the memory Obscured be, doth wish good principall. But as a drunkard doth not knowe w<sup>ch</sup> way 75 Hom to his howse he maye him selfe convaye. / So doth those err who seke sufficiency? Doubtles to happie state no other thinge Can more availe then plenty of all good Not wanttinge other helpes, but for it selfe. Having enoughe. Either do such men err 80 Who iudge what thinge is best, deserveth most Wth reverence to be saluted? No. / Nor can it be a base and abject thinge W<sup>ch</sup> to enioy most mortall men aspire. / And is not power to be counted good? 85 What els? Can it be weak and without power W<sup>ch</sup> more in worth, then all beside, we count. / Is glorious name to be as nothing thought? But questionles what is most p[re]cious Wee must esteeme to be most glorious. 90 What shall I say that true beatitude Is neither pensive nor subject to greife. For in least things man seeketh to enjoy Unto the mynd what is delightful most. / These are the things wch men require to gaine 95 Who for these causes ardentlie desire Riches, Renowne, Realmes, glory, and delight. 10 Because herby they thinke they maye attaine Abundance, Honour, Puissance, fame, and ioye Then it is good wch men by divers meanes 100 So much do covet, wherein see the force Of nature. Though mens Iudgments div[ers] be,

Meter 2 · /

My muse in sonnet meaneth to declare What reines of rule Nature in things ordeyned, And in what order all by her conteyned

In choice of goodnes end yet all agree. /

<sup>9</sup> worth] wealth deleted with worth inserted above

<sup>10</sup> delight] second Renowne deleted with delight inserted above

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United wth stronge chaine unchanged are. /

Though lyons lye in chaines receivinge meate
From keepers handes, whose stripes he often beareth,
Yet keeper first w<sup>th</sup> bloudy tooth he teareth
Burstinge his boundes by Natures raginge heate.

The chirpinge birde w<sup>ch</sup> singes in height of tree,
Contain'd<sup>11</sup> in cage, and keept w<sup>th</sup> keepers care,
Allthough with foode most delicate she fare,<sup>12</sup>
Preferreth wonted woodes, and Liberty.

21 [r]

The top of sturdy plants bended w<sup>th</sup> strength, When hould you leave, it selfe upright will raise: Phœbus doth dip his beames in westerne Seas, Yet under earth returnes to East at length.

All things reioyce in Natures order sure, All thinges on courses certaine do depend: And do delight, to come to proper end, Whereby the world doth constantly endure.

# Prose 3 · /

And you, o earthlie creatures, in some sort Imperfectlie of yo[ur] begin[n]inge dreame: Also yo[ur] end felicitie, in parte Allthoughe not plainely, you conceive and see. / And thither you by naturall instinct Are caried, but blind error manifould From thence seduceth unto vanities. / For marke if by such meanes as men account Their mynd to true beatitude can mount. For if yt mony honour or the rest That no good thinge be wantinge, can performe, Some man I also grant may by these meanes To happie state attaine. But for as much

As these be neither to effect

<sup>11</sup> Contain'd] Containd MS

<sup>12</sup> fare] "e" deleted after "f" MS

15 What they do promise, and much good do want Is not therein vaine shewe of happines. / I first of you, who late in wealth did flowe, Do this demand, if in yo[ur] riches store Vexac[i]ons manifould you have not had W<sup>ch</sup> by some injuries yo[ur] mynd made sad? / 20 Bo: Doubtles said I, I cannot call to mynd That ever I remained long so free But yt mishaps still crossing did me vex. Ph: Was not the cause said shee, yt you did want Such necessaries as you would enjoye? 25 Or els because to use some thing as neare Wch you would gladly have been furth[er] of? [21 v] Bo: Yes verilie, said I. P: Then of the one The p[re]sence you, said she, desired, 13 and The oth [ers] absence. B: I confesse, said I.14 30 P: And doth not man that want weh he doth wish? B: The same hee needs must want (then answered I) P: Now can such men who want to serve thire tournes Sufficiency be thought to harbour? B: No. / P: You then quoth she, in wealth this want sustain'd. 35 B: What then? said I. P: Then riches cannot make A man to have enough, and not to want, W<sup>ch</sup> thinge to promise unto man they seeme. This also cheiflie may observed bee, That nature gave not money force to save it 40 But they perforce may lose the same who have it. B: I grant said I. P: Why should you not this graunt Sith daylie stronger men the same do take Wth violence from others of lesse might? For whence ariseth pleadings in the lawe, 45 And plaintiffs bills, but that they may recover Mony by force or fraude from them purloyn'd? / B: Most true, said I. P: Then man externall avde To save his substance, wch he hath, doth want. B: Who can deny the same? P: But others helpe 50

13 desired] "o" deleted after "i" MS

<sup>14</sup> I.1 I. MS

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He had not needed but for monyes cause W<sup>ch</sup> he enioyed, w<sup>ch</sup> els he might have lost. B: No doubt said I. P: The case 15 then altered is. For wealth weh sem'd in nothing to be skant, 55 Needinge externall ayde, is still in want. / But by what means can wealth yo[ur] wants expell? For do not wealthy men hunger sustaine? Are they not subject unto thirst? Doth not The winters frostie season rich men nipe? 60 But you will answer, that these wealthy men Have where wth hunger, thirst, and cold t'expell: Hereby I graunt their want may be releived, But cannot so by them be guit removed. For if by wealth be waylinge wants supplied, Want still remaineth to be satisfied. / 65 I cease to showe yt smale sufficeth nature, But nothing can suffice the covetous. 16 / Wherfore if riches cannot wants remove: And if they want do cause, I marvaile much 70 Why men do place sufficencye in such?

22 [r]

#### Met: 3 ·

Though rich men flowe
In surginge streames of gould,
Yet nigardes thirsty still,
Will never knowe
Themselves<sup>17</sup> ynough to hould,
Their gredy want to fill.

Though chaines abound
Brought from the Indies shore,
Of pearle and pretious stone,
Though he much ground
With hundred oxen store
Doth plough, yet will he grone:

<sup>15</sup> case] "u" deleted after "a" MS

<sup>16</sup> covetous] letter deleted after "t" MS

<sup>17</sup> Themselves] selves inserted above with caret

And carkinge° care Such men will never leave While as they be alive: 15 Nor death will spare Them wholely to bereave, And them of goods deprive.

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### Prose 4 · /

B: But dignities to whom they shall befall They make such worthy to be honoured. / P: Hath magistracy might to make mans mynd Abound in virtue, and abandon vice? Doubtles it doth not evills put to flight But rath[er] causeth vice it selfe to showe. / From whence it is yt wee do oft disdaine That wicked men in highest places raigne. ffor wch, Catullus calleth Nonius, Sitting in judgment seat, Ill humors heape. / Do you not see what shame to wicked men By honour com[m]eth? Whose unworthines18 Would lesse appeare, if in lowe state they were. / And wouldest 19 thou for any dangers yeild Wth Decoratus for to rule the state, When thou in him didst plaine perceive a mynd Of most base Sycophants, and pickthanke' vile? Wee maye not judge by reason of highe place Those can deserve Renowne, whom wee esteeme Unworthie of such place: but if you see Wth wisdome any man to be endowed Unworthie will you judge him of renowne? Or of his wisdom wch he hath? B: Not so. For bonour doth in vertue proper rest, W<sup>ch</sup> she imparts to her associats, Wch hono[urs] populer, cannot effect, Wherefore they want the worth of dignity. / Wherein this further may observed be. For if a man be so much more abject,

[22 v]

<sup>18</sup> unworthines] un inserted above with caret

<sup>19</sup> wouldest] "e" inserted above with caret

30 By how much more he is of men contemn'd: Sith royall place cannot make reverend, It rather wicked men more vile doth make, In yt to many it doth showe their vice. But not for nought for wicked men restore 35 Againe like payment unto dignities, Whom they by vile contagion do pollute. / And yt thou maist perceive that honour true By such vaine shadowes of a worthie place Cannot atchived be, I argue thus: 40 If any executinge dignities In cuntreys barbarous perhaps arive, Will hono' past, strangers at all procure Wth reverence such men to entertaine? Surely if hono[urs] were to dignities Guifts naturall, then in no cuntry strange 45 To execute their office would they cease. / As fire in every coast endureth hoate. / But sith in them this is no proper force But mans opinion false supporteth it: 50 Before such men to banish they will seeme Who do not them as dignities esteeme. / But this I spoke concerninge cuntreys strange. / Now are they allwayes permanent wth those Who do inhabit in the selfe same land? The Pretors office lately was of might, 55 Only the name now vainely doth remain. / The Senators estate is tedious toil. / Yf any heretofore would oversee The peoples graine, such man was counted greate. 60 Now, then y' office, what is thought more base? For, as wee said before, what inwardly Hath no renowne, receyveth worthines Or looseth it by mans opinion. / Yf honours then cannot men worthy make, If they wax vile, by means of bad mens vice, 65 If they in tract of tyme their worth forsake, If cuntreys strange esteeme them of no price,

> What beauty then therin can mans mynd move, Much lesse, before all, can deserve yo[ur] love. /

23 ·[r]

### Meter 4 ·

Though Nero proud in prodigall excesse
Himselfe in Tyrian silke and gemmes did dresse,
Yet he most hatefull lived unto all
To Senators base dignities of late
He did impart. Then honour from a state
So abiect, who can truly happie call.

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Prose 5 / B: But cannot Kingdomes and the countenance Of kings effect puissaunce absolute? Why not? Wheras their endles happines Constant wthout chaunge is conserved firme. P: But auntient age examples many yeild And later tymes wherin we live, declare That Kinges felicitie inconstantly Into extreame calamatie doth change. O vaine is puissaunce, weh is unable So much as the owne state to fortifie. / Yf kingdomes might were cause of happines Yf it on any part imperfect stand, Would not such want diminish happines Inferringe miserie? But yet allthough Kingdomes terrestriall extend full far: Cuntreys unconquered many remain Over the wch no severall Kinge can raigne. Now on what part Kinges rule is lymited On yt part impotencie entereth Wch curbinge their might doth them wretched make, Deprivinge them of yt, wch happie makes. / Then in regard hereof Kings must possesse A greater part of woe than happines. / A Tyrant havinge found in princely state Dangers to lurke resembled Kingdomes feare By hanginge of a sword above ones heade. / What maiestie is this yt cannot purge

Such biting cares nor stings of feare avoyde?<sup>20</sup>

<sup>20</sup> avoyde] over-written in dark ink

[23 v]

Doubtles they wish but cannot live secure: And yet to boast of might they do not cease. 30 Dost thou him mightie iudge, whom souldiers avde Environeth[,] who whom he makes afraide He feareth more him selfe whose strength dost stand Not in him selfe but in his servants hand?<sup>21</sup> What should I say of princes favourits 35 Sith Kingdoms imbecillitie<sup>22</sup> I showe? These sometyme fall in kings prosperitie: And vanish sometyme if the kinge do fail. Nero constrained Seneca his freind 40 And maister to elect what death he would. / Anthonius did obtrude Papinian Mightie in court long tyme to souldiers sword. Both<sup>23</sup> these did wish their highe place to renounce Wherof grave Seneca to yeild his goods Wholely to Neros will did judge it best, 45 That he might spend his tyme in quiet ease. / But whilst the greatnes of these Tyrants power The slippery state of them did ruinate, Neither effected yt wch both24 they sought. What might is then weh they yt have do feare? 50 W<sup>ch</sup> when you wish to have you are not safe, And when you wish to leave you cannot shune.

> What pestilence will then more dreadfull be, Then will be thyne familiar enymie? /

Are freinds a garrison whom vertues lincke Hath not procured unto thee but chance?

But whom prosperitie hath made thy freind, Successe unprosperous will make thy foe.

Meter 5 · /

Who so true might would finde Must tame his lofty mynd.

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<sup>21</sup> hand?] hand. MS

<sup>22</sup> imbecillitie] ti inserted above with caret

<sup>23</sup> both] "o" deleted after "o" MS

<sup>24</sup> both] "o" deleted after "o" MS

No lusts his thoughts must blind

Or hould in awe

5 For though both<sup>25</sup> Indy land And furthest Thule stand Subdued by thy hand

10

And feare thy lawe

Yet that no might can be Which cannot cause to fly Sharpe cares and misery

Which him do gnawe.

# Prose 6 · /

How false is glory often and how vile? Wherof *Tragedian* iustlie doth exclayme: O glory, glory, to a thowsand men Nothinge else made but vaine wind in the eare.

ffore many men have falslie forged fame
From vaine opinion of the vulgar sort
More shamefull, then w<sup>ch</sup> thing, what may be thought? 24 [r]
For who untrulie have a famous name

Needs must they blush at false reporte of fame. /

10 W<sup>ch</sup> if by iust desert it were attained

Can fame availe to wise mens conscience?

Who measure not theire goods by peoples voice,

But by theire consciencies uprightnes.

But if to blaze ofurl name be glorious,

Then not to spreade the same is odious.

But sith (as I before declared have),

Theire needs must be full many Nations

Wherto the fame of one man cannot fly,

It chaunceth yt whom you iudge glorious,

In greatest part of earth shall be obscure. /
Moreover in such fame of common sort
I cannot see what can deserve renowne.
Wch neither doth proceed to iudgement sound
Nor ever permanent to rest is found. /

25 Further how vaine and fraile is *noblenes*, Of birth, who cannot see? W<sup>ch</sup> if to *fame* 

<sup>25</sup> both] "o" deleted after "o" MS

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It be referred, it is not thire owne
For this, nobilitie doth seeme to be:
A praise from parents merit w<sup>ch</sup> proceeds. /

Now if y<sup>t</sup> praise makes noble, then such are,
To whom such praise is due, noble alone.
Wherfore yf in thy selfe be nothinge p[re]cious,
Anothers worth can never make thee glorious. /
Yf any good be in nobilitie,

It is in y<sup>t</sup> on them necessity
Imposed is, y<sup>t</sup> they should not digresse
From vertue of thir parents noblenes. /

Meter 6 · /
All humaine kind both<sup>26</sup> great and small
Ariseth from a like estate:
For why? One father is of all
Only directinge all by fate,
He gave to Phœbus beames full bright,
To mone he gave<sup>27</sup> her hornelike light.

He granted man on earth t'abide,
He granted starres to rest in sky:
The soule in body he did hide
Which did descend from heavens highe
Wherefore full honourable seede
All mortall men at first did brede.

Why then boast you of noble race?

If you would duly call to mynd,

You all were made by divine grace,

No man doth grow out of his kind,

But he which doth vile vice embrace,

Wherby he doth his birth deface. /

[24 v]

Prose 7 · /

What shall I say of bodies pleasure vaine? Desire wherof is full of gnawinge care:

<sup>26</sup> both] "o" deleted after "o" MS

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> he gave] inserted above with caret

And whose satietie<sup>28</sup> repentence brings. / What great deseases and what griping greifs Unto the body pleasures do procure, 5 As fruit and punishment for life impure? Whose motions first what sweete delight it hath I do not knowe, but he shall understand, Who will his passions past againe remember, 10 That sops of sorrow pleasures end doth render. Who if they can make man full fortunate, No cause why beasts should not be happie thought, Whose whole intent is bodies lust to fill. Pleasure of wife and children honest is. 15 Yet is it said somewhat unnaturall, Y' some as torments have their children found. Wherof how gnawinge is mans whole estate I neede not showe to you, who proved have The same, and who remaine in hevines. Where in the speach of my Euripides 20

I do allow, who thought it happie state,
By childrens want to be unfortunate.

Meter · 7 ·

Vaine pleasures all in generall
These harmes do bring,
Who them enioy, they him anoy
Much like bees stinge. /

5 Pleasure doth fly so sone as she
Hath hony left:
With sowrest smart, peircinge mans hart
Of ioy bereft.

Prose · 8 · /

Wherefore no doubt but to<sup>29</sup> beatitude
These foresaid waies are pathes erroneous,<sup>30</sup>
Nor these can bringe you whither they make showe

<sup>28</sup> satietie] felicitie deleted with satietie inserted above

<sup>29</sup> to] be deleted after to MS

<sup>30</sup> erroneous] "o" inserted above with caret after "e"

But now I will most breiflie demonstrate 5 Wth what enormities they wrapped are. ffor what? To heape up riches will you<sup>31</sup> strive? But you must take it from the owner then. Would you excell in noble dignities? But you must bowe unto the giver then. And who so will excell in hono[urs] place 10 By begginge of the same becometh base. Would you wish might? Subject to vile deceipts And treacheries of Subjects thine thou art. Require you glory?<sup>32</sup> But by great attempts 15 Distracted, you to live secure shall cease. / Would you yo[ur] daies in pleasure spend secure? But who will not disdaine and cast away His bodies service vilest lump of clay. Concerning such who bodies goodes prefer, 20 Of slender and of fraile estate they boast. For Elephantes in stature, Bulls in strength, Tygers in swiftnes can you overmatch? Behould the heavenes hugenes fixed frame And swift celeritie, then cease at length 25 Terrestriall abject things so to admire. / Heavens externall beauty not so much Deserveth admiration, as in y By reasons rule directed firme they are. Brightnes of beauty passeth swift awaye 30 More fugitive then are the fragrant flowers. But if so be (as Aristotle saith) Mens eies were sharpe, as Lynces eies, to peirce Into all obiects, would not seemely shape Of Alcibiades his outward showe, Percinge into his entralls, foule appeare? 35 Wherefore not nature, but mans eies defect To cause, whie man doth seeme so beautifull. / Well, well, yo[ur] bodies goodes of price esteeme. Yet knowe y' tertian ague° can dissolve Blossomes of beauty wch you much admire. / 40

25 [r]

<sup>31</sup> you] seeke deleted after you MS

<sup>32</sup> glory?] Subject deleted after glory? MS

Of all w<sup>ch</sup> things I may in breife conclude, That these w<sup>ch</sup> yeild no *good* as they do seeme Nor perfect are by iust concourse of *goodes*, They neither serve as pathes to happie state: Nor are a force to make you fortunate. /

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#### Meter 8 · /

Alas how ignorance doth sely° man seduce!

No gould you seek from trees, nor gemmes from vines you crave, Your nets on hills you cast not fish thence to produce,
Nor on the Tyrrhen Sea you seeke not goates to have.<sup>33</sup>

The gredy gulphes in serginge Seas mankind hath found,
Also what streames with pearle, or fish for purple<sup>34</sup> flow:
Where tender fish for meate, or Echins° sharpe abound,
But where true good consisteth w<sup>ch</sup> you seeke to know,
You blinded men are furthest of to see and find,
Who search under the earth, for that w<sup>ch</sup> raignes in skies.
What shall I wish beseeminge such a folish mynd,
But this, let them hunt after wealth, and dignities,
And after that false goods they prove w<sup>th</sup> trial sowre,
Then may they understand true goods unfained power. / [25 v]

# Prose 9 · /

Thus farr to have depainted forth the forme As false felicitie, this may suffice. Markinge my method, wch if you behould True good I must by order now unfould. / 5 B. I see, said I, wee neith[er] can obtain By wealth, abundance, nor by Kingdoms might: Nor honour, by highe place, nor true renowne By fame wee gaine, nor ioy, by vaine delight. / P. Do you the cause hereof not understand? 10 B: I seeme as in a glasse these things to knowe. / P: Doubtles the reason is in readines. For what is simple and in nature one, Error of men the same doth separate, Transferringe it from true and perfect good

<sup>33</sup> have] over-written in dark ink

<sup>34</sup> purple] "r" inserted above with caret

15	To seeming showes, and to imperfect things.	
	Dost thou suppose yt what doth nothinge want	
	Is void of powerfull might? Bo: No sure, said I.	
	P. Rightlie thou saiest, for if yt any thinge	
	Be weake in force, it needeth elswher ayde. /	
20	B: Its true, said I. P. Then is the nature one	
	Of wealth sufficience and princelie power. /	
	B: It seemeth so. P. And dost thou thinke such state	
	Unworthie is, or rath[er] worthie most	
	To be esteemed cheife in reverence.	
25	B: The dignitie therof wee must confess.	
	P. Then let us add moreover Reverence	
	To this sufficiens and princely power	
	That all as one wee may account these three.	
	B: Wee must if to the truth wee will agree.	
30	Ph: What then, said shee, do you esteeme this base	
	Or els to be a thinge most glorious?	
	But marke what you have granted not to want,	
	And to be most of might and worthiest	
	Of honours highe, you may not yt deprive	
35	Of glories crowne, as though it had defect,	
	Or y' in any sort it were abiect. /	
	B: I cannot but confesse the same to be	
	Most glorious. P. Then must wee needs confesse	
	Glory to be all one wth th'oth[er] three.	
40	B: That followeth well, said I. P: Then must you grant	
	Y' what requireth no externall ayde,	
	W <sup>ch</sup> is of might all things to bringe to passe,	
	W <sup>ch</sup> is renowned and most reverend	
	The same to rest in ioyfull pleasant state.	
45	B: I cannot see how unto such a good	26 ·[r]
	Anguish at all can any way ascend.	
	Then sith yo[ur] former proufs appeared plaine,	
	In ioyfullnes the same must needs remaine. /	
	P. And this will follow also from those proufs	
50	That names of Plenty, might renowned fame	
	Honour and pleasure are distinguished:	

But yet in substance these do all agree.

By nature simple, humaine ignorance

B: Most true, said I. P. This therefore, wch is one

- Devided hath, and whilst he would inioy
  A part of y<sup>t</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> cannot parted stand,
  Man neith[er] doth inioy therof a part
  Nor hath the whole from whom he doth depart. /
  B: Wherin said I do men true good devide?
- 60 P. Who so requireth wealth, said she, his want
  For to abandon aymeth not at power,
  But wisheth rath[er] to remaine obscure
  Who also many pleasures naturall
  Wthdraweth lest the wealth he got he lose.
- 65 Hereby he cannot gaine sufficience
  Who wanteth *might*, whom grevances do vex,
  Whom basenes and obscuritie doth hide.
  Now he y<sup>t</sup> *might* only in price doth hould
  Riches doth spend, and pleasure doth despice,
- 70 Nor honour wantinge might, nor fame doth weighe,
  But yet how many helpes him faile you see.
  For oft he necessaries so much wants
  Y' he wth cares is crossed manifould
  Wch when he cannot from his hart expell
- 75 Of might he is deprived by y' meanes.
  Which he above all things esteemed most.
  Concerning honours, glory, and delight,
  In argument the same we may conclude.
  For whereas these are one, whoso some one
- Of these alone w<sup>th</sup>out the rest requireth
  Obtayneth not y<sup>t</sup> one w<sup>ch</sup> he desireth.<sup>35</sup>

  B. What then, said I? P. Yf any man to have
  These alltogither doth at once desire
  The supreame good he wisheth to inioy
- But can he find the same in these vaine showes
  Whom I demonstrate not to be of force
  For to effect what they do promise men.
  B. No by no meanes, said I. P. Therfore in these
  W<sup>ch</sup> seeme one only part of happines
- 90 For to afford, we may not goe about

  Beatitude to find. B. This thing I grant

  And nothinge can, then this, more true be spoke.

[26 v]

<sup>35</sup> desireth] "o" deleted after "i" MS

P. The forme, said she, of seeming happines And causes also of the same you heare: Now turn thy sight of mynd contrariwise 95 True happines wch I thee promised To teach, thou also shalt now understand. B: This thinge, said I, the blind may clearely see And you the same before declared have 100 Wher you the seeminge causes pointed at. / For y' is true and perfect happines, (Unles I be deceived) wch doth make A man sufficient in him selfe to be. Mighty, and reverend, and glorious, And wth sweete pleasures ioy replenished. 105 And yt you may perceive I these things marke Attentivelie in mynd I understand That what can any one of these afford, Because these all are one, the same must be Wthout all doubt compleate felicitie. 110 P. O foster child happie herein thou art Yf hereunto one thinge annexed be. B. What thinge, said I? P. Wheth[er] do you suppose In mortall and frayle things is any state 115 Y' may to such beatitude aspire. B: No verilie I thinke and this is plaine Proved by you yt more to add were vaine. P. The Image of true good unto mankind Or els imperfect good these seeme to yeild, But true and perfect goodnes cannot give. / 120 B: This thing I graunt, said I, wth full assent. P. Then for so much as you have understood What true good is and what beatitude Doth counterfeite, it doth remaine y' you Now understand the way and meanes whereby 125 You may true happines attaine unto. B: This is the thinge wch I most ardentlie Have longe expected to be by you taught. P. But sith (as Plato in Timæo saith) In smallest things Gods ayde we must implore 130 What thinke you fittest herein to be done That we to finde the seate of supreame good

May worthie be. B: Wee ought to invocate
The father of all things, whom if wee passe
Then no begining can be founded stronge
Ph: Well said, quoth she, and therew<sup>th</sup> all she singe. /

# Meter 9 · /

27 ·[r]

O thou who governest the world w<sup>th</sup> endles reason,
Who art creator of the earth and azur'd skie,
Who dost commande tymes motions to succeede in season,
Who art immoveable yet movest all from highe:
Whom no externall causes could constraine to try
The worke of worldes creation first to undertake,
But thy internall goodnes love the same did make.

All thinges thou dost ordaine like supreme paterns frame
Worldes seemely shape in mynd thou beautifull didst lay,
Creatinge it in Image like unto the same,
Perfect all parts commaundinge constantly to stay.
Thou Elements proportions measuringe dost waighe,
That cold with heate and dry with moist keepe harmony,
Lest heavy earth descend, or fire should mount more highe.

15 Heavens Intelligence thou in the middle knittinge,
Containinge triple nature, movinge all below
Thou dost resolve, directinge it by sphæres befittinge,
Who when two<sup>36</sup> waies his motions seperated goe,
Againe it moveth inwardly itself to knowe,
20 And searcheth out thy hidden nature most profound,
And with like understandinge moveth heavens rounde. /

Immortall soules of men alike didst create,
And thinges inferior their life from thee they have:
Who placinge soules of men in earth and heavens state,
In mercy callinge them to thee thou dost them save,
By thy abundant love, which to all essence gave. /
O father graunt our mindes may now ascend to thee,
Fountaine of supreme good vouchsafe wee cleare may see. /

135

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<sup>36</sup> two] tow MS

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Vouchsafe when light by us is found embrace wee maye

With evident myndes sight at large thy goodnes deare:

Disperse the clustred cloudes and drosse of earthly clay,

And us with light illuminate, for thou art cleare.

Tranquillity to good men thou dost cause t'apeare,

Who art the end, begininge, director, and guide,

Our Captaine, and our path, our home, where we should byde. /

### Prose 10 /

[27 v]

Because of good imperfect, and the forme Of perfect good, thou hast before beheld, Now must I shewe wherein this p[er]fect state Of right beatitude consists, I judge, And first herein I ought to search, I thinke, Whether such good as you defined have In nature may be founde, lest shadowes vaine From truth therof o[ur] daizeled mynds detaine. That such good is existent no man doubts And that it is of all good things the springe. / For what imperfect named is, is said To be imperfect in regard it doth From yt wch hath perfection disagree. / From whence it is yt if in any find Imperfect any thinge shall seeme to be, In yt kind perfect somethinge needs must be. For take away perfection who can see Imperfectnes in any kind to be? ffor nature neither did begininge take From things of weakest worth unfinished, But shee procedinge from things absolute Unto these last and weakest works declines. Now if, as I before declared have, Felicitie imperfect in things fraile Consisteth, then it seemeth questionles There also is a perfect happines. / B: Most true, said I, these reasons yo[urs] conclude. P. Now where this good remayneth gather thus: That God of all things is the sovereigne good Common consent of all men doth approve.

For sith then God noe better thinge maye be

Who doubteth that is good yt passeth all. Now reason verifies God to be good, Y' perfect state of good in him doth rest. 35 For otherwise he were not cheife of all. For perfect good elswhere more excellent, And far more auncient then he would seeme. ffor all things perfect extant were before Imperfect things. Wherefore lest reason should Wthout fitt object infinit extend 40 That supreme God wth perfect supreme good Is most replenished we must confesse. Now perfect good is true beatitude, In supreme God therefore it must consist. / B: This thinge I understande, said I, nor cause 45 To contradict these principles I see. P. But marke I praie you how religiouslie And soundly you can prove that highest God Doth most of all abound wth highest good. / Bo: How is this prov'd?<sup>37</sup> said I. Ph: Do not suppose 50 This father of all things received hath This cheifest good wherewth he doth abound From any cause externall, or to have The same in nature as a bare possession 55 In substance divers from his deitie<sup>38</sup>: For if you judge it came from other meanes, That thing w<sup>ch</sup> gave it were more excellent Then y' wch needed to receive the same. / But not wthout greate reason wee confesse, All things to God give place in worthines. / 60 Now if by nature this in him consist, But yet by reason is distinguished: When as wee speake of what is sovereigne, Let man imagine who in one hath linckt These two wch are by nature things distinct. / 65 Lastlie, what thinge is divers from the rest, It is not yt from wch it divers is: Wherefore what thinge by nature is distinct,

28 [r]

38 deitie] ei over-written in dark ink

<sup>37</sup> prov'd] "e" deleted after "v" with apostrophe inserted above

From cheifest good, cheif good that cannot be.39 Wch to impute to God most heynous were, 70 More excellent then whom it may appeare? ffor doubtles nothinge may more worthie be By natures force, then his begininge was: Wherefore, what is originall of all, 75 I may conclude in essence it must be The supreme good. B. And not unworthily. 40 P. But supreme good (you graunt) is happines. B. I grant it is. P. Then must you also grant Y' good alone is cheif felicitie. 80 B. Yofur] p[re]misses I cannot well deny Whose consequence most plaine produced is. P. Marke well how hence, more firmly this I prove: Y' two cheif goodes wch are distinguished Cannot togither stand. For sure it is Distinct good things cannot be all as one: 85 And therefore neither can be absolute: Sith one is wantinge to supplie the rest. Now it is certaine what imperfect is Cannot be said to be the supreme good. / 90 Then in no wise those good things divers are Wch are supreme. But I have shew'd before Felicitie and God are cheifest good: Wherfore all one coheareth cheife felicitie In essens wth the eternall diety. 95 B. Nothinge more true, or more in reason sound, Or more beseeminge God, we may conclude. P. Moreover as Geometricians use In demonstrac[i]on of their principles Some consequence from thence for to infer, A corollarie so will I thee give. / 100 Because men be by gaininge happines Blessed, and blessednes is very deity, By gettinge godlines we blessed be. /

[28 v]

Now as by gaininge iustice, men are iust,

<sup>39</sup> From cheifest . . . cannot be] interlineated

<sup>40</sup> unworthily] un inserted above with caret

By havinge wisdome men are counted wise
So gaininge godlines doth make men Gods.
Then every blessed man<sup>41</sup> is as a God
For thoughe by nature God but one can be,
Yet many may pertake the deitie.

110 Bo: Whether a consequent or corollarie
You call this speach it is most p[re]cious.
P. Yea nothinge can more worthie be then this
Wch reason biddeth hereunto to ioyne.
B. What is that thinge? P. Sith blessednes consists

Of many things, wheth[er] all these concurre Into one bodie of beatitude,
 Into their certaine parts distinguished?
 Or wheth[er] any one of them performe
 The solid<sup>42</sup> substance of felicitie,

Whereto all oth[er] things referred be.
B: I wish you would this thinge declare at large.
P. Do not wee count beatitude a good?
B: Yes supreme good. P: You must hereto this add,
Beatitude is cheife sufficiency.

It also is cheife might, and honour cheife,

Glory, and pleasure cheife it is. B. What then?

P.<sup>43</sup> Are all these goodes, sufficiencie, and might,

W<sup>th</sup> all the rest, members of blessed state?

Or are theie all (as to theire highest heade)

130 Referred to cheife good? B. I understand
What you discussinge, for to prove intend,
But I desire hereof to heare yo[ur] end. /
P.<sup>44</sup> The difference hereof thus understand
Members of happines if all these were

135 One from the oth[er] then they differ would For this the nature true of members is,
Diverse coheare one body for to make.

B. But these are proved all as one to be.

P. Therefore they are not parts thereof: for so

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> man] name altered to man (initial "n" changed to "m" with final "e" deleted)

<sup>42</sup> solid] "1" inserted above with caret

<sup>43</sup> P.] inserted in left margin

<sup>44</sup> P.] B. MS

140 Of only member one, felicity Should seeme for to consist, wch may not be. Bo:45 Noe doubt thereof but I the rest expect. Ph: All other things to good referred are For men require sufficiency because It seemeth good, and men wish puissaunce 145 Because the same in like sort seemeth good, Concerninge honour, glory, and delight, The same wee maye conclude. ffor only good Of mans desire is finall cause and drifte. / 150 ffor what in truth, nor in the show of truth Seemeth no native goodnes to retaine, Such thinge is not required. Otherwise What things by nature are not good indeede, Yet if they seeme to beare a shew of good, As if they were true good, they wished are. / 155 From whence it is the summe and finall end Of mens desires to goodnes seemes to tend. / Now for what cause another thinge is sought The cause it selfe seemes to be wished most: 160 As if a man will ride because of health. He doth not seeke so much yt exercise Of rydinge, as he doth th'effect of health. Wherefore sith all things for the cause of good<sup>46</sup> Are sought the same are not so much desired<sup>47</sup> 165 Of men, as is the very good it selfe. But for what thinge all oth[ers] wished are We granted have to be felicity. Wherefore felicity is only sought. ffrom whence it is yt good and happie state One only substance<sup>48</sup> do participate. / 170 B. No cause to contradict yo[ur] former speach I can p[er]ceive. P. But God and blessednes All one to be I have made manifest. B. You have indeede. P. Then safe I may conclude

45 Bo:] inserted in left margin

29 [r]

<sup>46</sup> good] health deleted with good inserted above with caret

<sup>47</sup> desired] "o" deleted after "i" MS

<sup>48</sup> substance] "b" inserted above with caret

175 In perfect good Gods essence doth abyde And not in any other thinge beside. /

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### Meter 10 /

Drawe neare ye mortall men blindly deceaved,
Whom vaine delights in cursed chaines have bound:
Obscuringe much your myndes of truth bereaved,
Here quiet rest from all your toyles is found,
Here haven calme of pleasant peace remaineth,
Here is the Refuge which your woes sustaineth.

What Tagus yeildeth with his goulden sand,
Or river Hermus with his glitteringe shoare,
Or Indus run[n]inge neare the scorchinge land,
Grene perles and whit w<sup>th</sup> hath aboundant store,
Cannot illuminate your sight of mynd,
But rather wrappeth you in Error blinde.

These thinges which folish myndes so much delight,
Do issue from the caves of basest ground:
Brightnes wherewith heaven is ruled right
Expelleth darknes, w<sup>th</sup> your myndes hath drown'd:
Who clearely can conceive this worthy light,
Will not esteme the bemes of Phœbus bright.

#### Prose 11 .

B. Hereto I give consent, sith all o[ur] proufs
By soundest demonstrac[i]ons lincked are.
P. Of what account will you this thing esteeme
Yf what this goodnes is you understand?
B. Of infinit account, for therewthall
God who is supreme good I shall conceive.
P. This thinge by reason sound I will make plaine,
But let in mynd my former proufs remaine. /
B. I them observe. P. Have not I shewed thee
Yt those things wth of most men wished are
Are for this cause not true nor perfect goodes,
In yt amongst them selves repugnance is.
And sith to one the other wanting is,
Full good and absolute they cannot yeild.

[29 v]

Theie only then true perfect good become
When into<sup>49</sup> one theire forme and force is tyed
And what sufficiens is, the<sup>50</sup> same should be
Might, honour, worthy fame, and sweete delight.
All w<sup>ch</sup> unles in one they do agree,

No reason why they should required be.

B: These things declared are before, wherin

No doubt doth rest. P. Then what things are not good

When as they parted are, but beinge one

Good things become, doth not such good arise

Because they are united all in one?

B: It seemeth so. P. But will you graunt, or us, Y' what is good receaveth all his worth

By takinge part of highest good? B. I graunt.

P. Then in<sup>51</sup> like sort this must you also grant,

Y' unity and good agree in one,
For all one essence such things do containe,
Whose naturall effects all one remaine. /
B. I cannot this deny. P. Do you not know
Y' every beinge doth so longe persist

35 As it is one: but is dissolved then,
When unity it leaveth? B. In what sort?
Ph: Like as when soule and body do concurre
In livinge creatures all in nature one,
The same a livinge creature named is. /

But when this unitie dissolved is
By seperac[i]on of the parts asunder,
It vanisheth and is no more that<sup>52</sup> creature. /
Mans bodie likewise when it doth persist
By ioyned members in conformitie,

So longe appeareth perfect humaine shape:
But if the bodies parts distracted be,
It ceaseth to continue as<sup>53</sup> it was.
In like sort whoso veiweth all things els,

30·/[r]

<sup>49</sup> into] word deleted after into MS

<sup>50</sup> same] word deleted after same MS

<sup>51</sup> in] inserted above with caret

<sup>52</sup> that] "a" deleted with that inserted above with caret

<sup>53</sup> as] word deleted with as inserted above

Shall plaine perceive, yt things so longe endure, While one they are, but when theire unity 50 Dissolved is, they longer cease to be. / B. Perusinge many things I cannot see But yt yofur] words containe a certaine truth. P. Doth any thinge by naturall instinct, Leavinge the love of beinge, ever wish 55 His owne distruction, and corruption? B. Yf I consider creatures w<sup>ch</sup> iniov An appetite to chose and to refuse: None can I finde, unles by outward meanes They be constrained, went to live refuse, 60 And willinglie incline unto theire end. ffor every creature to p[re]serve his health Endeavoureth but dreadfull death they flie. / For hearbes and trees and creatures wantting life, What to conclude, my mynd doth rest in doubt. / 65 Ph: Surely no cause herein to doubt you have<sup>54</sup> Sith hearbes and trees you may observe to grow In places wth theire nature best agreinge. Where, so much as theire nature will permit, They neither may decay nor<sup>55</sup> come to end. / 70 ffor some in fields, and some on Mountaines growe. Some live in marish grounds, some cleave to Rocks, The barren sands yeild some, weh if you seeke Elswhere to plant, they with[er] straight, and dy. / 75 But nature needefull things to all doth give, Who doth endeavoure that they perish not. What shall I say, yt all these sucke theire foode By Rootes, as if theire mouthes were hid in earth<sup>56</sup> And by their pith their strength and rinde disperce. / 80 Further the softest part, namely the pith In inner parts contayned all waies is, Inclosed round wth solid parts of wood. / Lastlie the rynde against the rage of avre Opposed is, all sturdie stormes to beare. /

or MS

<sup>54</sup> Ph: Surely ... have] inserted above

<sup>56</sup> earth] ground deleted with earth inserted in right margin

85	ffurther how great is natures diligence	
	All things to propagate by meanes of seede,	
	W <sup>ch</sup> doth not only for a tyme remaine,	
	But still producinge new, like engines fast	
	Who knoweth not yt species ever last. /	
90	Those creatures allso wanting sence and life	
	Do not they likewise natures aide require. /	
	For why doth lightnes cause the fire to mount,	
	Or why doth weight drawe downward still the earth	
	But yt such place and motions are most fitt.	
95	Moreover what is most convenient	[30 v
	By nature every thinge doth yt retaine,	-
	But contraries w <sup>ch</sup> doth corrupt refraine. /	
	Hard things, as stones, wth solid parts cohere,	
	W <sup>ch</sup> will not easely dissolved be.	
100	But liquid thinges, as <sup>57</sup> aire and water are,	
	Wth ease you may devide, yet these returne	
	United streight <sup>58</sup> togith[er] wth theire parts. /	
	But noe partic[i]on doth the fire admit. /	
	I do not of such motions now intreate	
105	As come from will of understanding mynd,	
	But touchinge naturall intention	
	As when received foode we do concocte	
	Not thinking thereuppon: That in o[ur] sleepe	
	Wee draw o[ur] breath not knowing by what meanes:	
110	For appetite in creatures to persist	
	Proceedeth not from any will of mynd,	
	But nature causeth it by course of kinde. /	
	ffor oft externall causes, do constraine	
	The will to yeild to dy, wch nature feares. /	
115	Againe yt act of generation	
	Wherby alone creatures continued are	
	Nature requireth, but will doth restraine.	
	So this desire to be doth not proceede	
	From creatures moc[i]on, but from Natures deede. /	
120	For divine providence vouchsafed hath	
	To creatures all this meanes still to endure,	

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> as] inserted above with caret <sup>58</sup> streight] "h" deleted after second "t" MS

Y' so much as they can they seek to live. No reason then you have to stand in doubt Y' creatures all by naturall instinct 125 Still permanent their state for to defend Entirely wish, and to avoide their end. / B. I grant y' now I certainely conceive, What seemed late my iudgement to deceive. P. Now what desireth to continue still Y' thinge requireth to be only one, 130 Wch unity dissolved, you dissolve The essens of the thing it selfe. B. It's true. P. All things therefore wish to be one. B. 59 I graunt. P.60 But yt, that one is good I proved. B. Yea. P. Wherefore all things require what thing is good 135 Wch not unaptlie you may well describe, That, that is good wch wished is of all. / B. More certaine nothing can be searched out. / For eyther all to nothing are referred, Wanting theire head straying wthout a guide: 140 Or if such thinge their be weh all things wish, The sovereigne good of all the same must be. 31 ·[r] P. O foster child exceedinglie I joy Sith certaine truth in mynd thou fixed hast. / For in this thinge<sup>61</sup> to thee y<sup>t</sup> doth appeare 145 W<sup>ch</sup> thou hast said thou didst not understand. / B. What thinge is yt? P. Of all things what might be

The finall end, w<sup>ch</sup> certainely is that
W<sup>ch</sup> of all creatures is desired most.

The w<sup>ch</sup> because I proved to be good,
Wee must acknowledge y<sup>t</sup> the finall end
Of creatures all, to goodnes cheife doth tend.<sup>62</sup>

Meter 11 · /

Who doth with study longe the truth inquire, And with no Errors wisheth to be moved.

<sup>59</sup> B.] inserted above with caret

<sup>60</sup> P.] inserted in left margin

<sup>61</sup> thinge] word deleted after thinge 62 tend] word (possibly bend) altered to tend

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Must in him selfe his reasons light retyre Discoursinge<sup>63</sup> longe untill the right be proved: What he intendeth let his mynd desire To keepe in store of memory approved. So cloudes of Error chased from his mynd, More light than Phœbus yeildeth, he shall finde.

For men are not deprived whole of light, Thoughe drossie earth oblivious lumpe they beare: But certaine seedes of truth inhere in sight, Wth exercise in Arts doth cause t'appeare. For how could children asked answere right, Unles in mynd the seede of truth theire were? And if 64 the Muse of Plato soundeth true, What men do learne their mynd doth but renew.

## Prose 12 · /

To Plato willinglie I give consent. / For these things I to mynd againe recall, My mynd oppressed first wth earthlie drosse And after wth the cloge of gnawinge greife, I lost thereby the knowledge of this thinge. / P. Yf you my former Arguments respect, No longer can yt thinge from you be hid, But you shall call to mynd what you before Acknowledged you did not understand. B. What thinge is yt? Ph: Wherby the world is rul'd. 10 B: That I myne ignorance acknowledged I do remember wch allthoughe I knowe I wish you would the same more plainely show. P. You doubted not before but yt this world 15 By God is governed. B. Nor yet I thinke Or ever shall yt this I ought to doubt And wth what reasons moved I suppose That this is true breiflie I will disclose. This world consistinge<sup>65</sup> of such dive<sup>rs</sup> parts,

[31 v]

<sup>63</sup> Discoursinge] "r" inserted above with caret

<sup>64</sup> if] inserted above with caret

<sup>65</sup> consistinge] eth deleted after "t" with inge inserted above with caret

- 20 And contraries, had not conioyn'd in one,
  Unles theire had been one, who could unite
  Such divers parts: w<sup>ch</sup> parts though they were knit,
  Yet the diversitie of natures force
  Repugnant still would have distracted all,
- Unles theire had been one who could containe
  What he united constant to remain.
  Nor natures order could so sure proceede,
  Neither such constant motions could performe
  Distinct in place, in tyme, in might, in space,
- 30 In qualities, unles there had been one
  Who could these manifould varieties
  Of change unchangeable him selfe dispose.
  This who doth guide and move the creatures all,
  By usuall phrase of speach him, God, I call.
- 35 P. Because these things you fully understand Small labo[ur] now remayneth to restore Yo[ur] mynd yo[ur] native cuntry safe to see, And to behould the state of blessednes.

  But let us not from purpose o[urs] digresse.
- Did not wee count sufficiency to rest
  In blessednes? And did not wee agree
  That God is verie blessednes? B. Yea sure. /
  P. Then to direct the world no outward ayde
  He wanteth otherwise if 66 he should want
- 45 Perfect sufficiencie he could not have.

  B. This reason is of force. P. Then by him selfe
  Alone he ruleth all. B. No doubt hereof.
  P. Now God is proved to be finall good.
  B. I well remember it. P. By goodnes then
- All things he doth dispose: sith of him selfe

  He ruleth all, whom to be good we grant.

  This is the sterne and only helme whereby

  The world doth stable stand and incorrupt. /

  B. Most willinglie hereto I give assent,
- 55 For in some measure I did this foresee
  Before perceivinge what you would conclude. /
  P. I thinke the same, for now as I suppose

<sup>66</sup> if] inserted above with caret

32·/[r]

More vigilent for to conceive the truth Yosur] eies you frame. But now what I will speake 60 Is nothinge less apparent. B. What is yt? P. Sith God is said justly all things to guide Wth helme of goodnes: and sith creatures all As I have taught by naturall instinct Aime at this good, no doubt but willinglie 65 They yeild to be disposed at his will. / And freely frame them selves to his com[m]and, As instruments convenient and fitt Squared for their Disposers regiment. B. It must be so, for happie Regiment 70 It would not seeme, if such a slavish yoke It were, as creatures would resist to beare And not their safety, who sustaine the same. / P. Then nothinge wch observeth natures lawe Attempteth God to contradict? B. Nothinge. 75 P. If any should attempt him to resist Could they p[re]vaile against him whom wee graunt To be most mighty in beatitude? B. Prevaile they cannot. P. Therefore nothing will Or can resist this supreme God?<sup>67</sup> B. No sure. P. Then yt is cheifest good, wch all wth might 80 Doth rule, and wth his goodnes doth dispose. B. Oh how not only yo[ur] collections Of reasons sound, but also these yo[ur] words My mind delight! Ashamed now I am To see my folly breathinge blasphemies. / 85 P. In fables you have heard68 yt Giants erst Attempted to encounter wth the skies, But by the fortitude of God benigne, Meete for their merits they deposed were. But let us now conferr o[ur] arguments 90 Perhaps by such conflict some worthie sparke Of truth will shine. B. Use yo[ur] discretion. P. That God allmighty is, no man will doubt. B. No man, unles he be not well in mynd. /

<sup>67</sup> God] "o" deleted after "o" MS

<sup>68</sup> heard] hard MS

Ph. But who Allmighty is, nothing can bee, 95 W<sup>ch</sup> he cannot effect. B. Not anythinge. P. Now can this God performe things evill. B. No. P. Then evill nothinge is, sith he cannot effect The same, whose might is voide of all defect. B. Do you delude me, framinge for my steps 100 An endles laborinth wherin sometyme Where you should enter out, you enter in, Againe where you should enter in, you seeme For to stepe out? Of Gods simplicitie 105 Will you compile such reasons circuler? For late begininge wth beatitude You proved it to be the highest good, Wch you affirmed to consist in God. / Againe you proved God cheife good to be 110 And perfect happines, from whence no man Blessed to be but he should be a God By needefull consequent you did inferre. [32 v] Againe you said the forme of goodnes was Essence of God, and of beatitude. / Wch unity you said was that same good 115 W<sup>ch</sup> by all creatures was desired most. / That God by goodnes reines all things doth rule You likewise did conclude. And yt all things Wth willinge service did obey his will. Lastlie that vice in nature nothing is. / 120 And these you proved not wth principles Externall, but inherent in themselves. One to the other yeilding ornaments Of credit wth familiar arguments. P. I do not dally but by divine ayde, 125 Whom late in praier I sollicited, The deepest mistery I passed have. For such the form of divine essence is Y' things externall cannot it conceive, 130 Nor any outward thinge it will receive. / But as Parmenides therof doth say Things manifould thou by thine owne accord Reducinge to their circles dost unite. That is the movinge orbe of things he swaies

135	But doth him selfe im[m]ovable conserve.	
	Yf forraine reasons I did not alledge,	
	But such as were wthin the bounds of yt	
	Wherof we did entreate, no cause you have	
	To wonder, sith as <i>Plato</i> hath you taught,	
	Our words wth matter lincked ought t'agree,	
140	In perfect leauge of neare affinitie. /	
	Meter 12 · /	
	Happie is he, cleare springe who can behould	
	Of goodnes cheife. /	
	Happie is he from clogge of earthly mould <sup>69</sup>	
	Who findes releife. /	
5	Orpheus death of his wyfe bewaylinge late	
	With wofull cries,	
	When woodes to move his songe did penetrate	
	In stranges wise. /	
	When streames to stand his swetest harpe did bynd	
10	His notes to heare:	
	With lions feirce when he did lincke the hinde,	
	Voide of all feare.	
	When hare was not afraide the dogge to see	
	Rapt with his songe,	
15	When loyall love in Orpheus inwardly	
	Had boyled long. /	
	Those plesant notes then could not him <sup>70</sup> asswage	
	Who all thinges tam'd	
	But that to hell he went, the Gods in rage	
20	As cruel blamed. /	
	Where tuninge sonnets sweete on soundinge stringes	
	He playeth still,	
	What songes he sucked from the sweetest springes	
	Of Muses skill. /	
25	Waylinge so much as teares would him permit	
	And loyall love,	
	Th'Infernall spirits, his wife for to remit,	
	He seekes to move.	

33 [r]

69 mould] clay deleted with mould inserted in right margin 70 him] inserted above with caret

	The Porter Cerberus admyringe standes
30	Strange notes to heare,
	The furies which wth hot revenginge brandes
	The wicked feare.
	Now mourninge flow with teares, nor Ixions wheele
	Doth now torment,
35	The thirst w <sup>ch</sup> Tantalus was wonte to feele
	Doth now relent.
	The vultur doth not Titius liver eate.
	Th'infernall Kinge
	With pity moved, said, cease to intreate
40	We grant this thinge
	Thy wife bought with thy melody receave,
	Yet this provide,
	For her you looke not back, till Hell you leave
	Lest back she slyde. /
45	But who by lawes can lovers harts constraine
	To stand in awe?
	Unfained love doth in it selfe containe
	A greater lawe.
	Orpheus, alas, now redy to depart
50	From hellish crue,
	Turninge to see Euridice his hart
	Her lost and slue. /
	This fable doth respect them who intend
	To frame their mynd
55	To gaine the supreme good, for who descend
	With senses blinde
	Into th'infernall lake, are overcome
	And loose also
	What guiftes celestial they before have won
60	Who thither goe. /
	Finis Libri terty · /

[33 v]

The Physick¹ of Philosophie, compiled by Anicius Manlius Torquatus Severinus Boethius, touchinge the consolation of Lady Philosophie, in the tyme of his exile. /

The fourth booke: wherin she partly purgeth his errors, touching Gods providence, and partly comforteth him with cordiall receipts. /

The first prose . These things when as Lady Philosophie, Wth gravity of seemely countenance, Myldly and sweetlie had in verses songe: Then I not fullie yet ingrafted greife Having forgot her speech did interrupt. 5 B: O you Reveyler of true light, said I, Yo[ur] fluent speech w<sup>ch</sup> hitherto you use, Both<sup>2</sup> for the divine speculac[i]on Thereof, as also by yo[ur] reasons sound, 10 To be invincyble you demonstrat. And unto me, allthough by pensive greife For my late wrongs these things forgot I had, Yet they were not wholely unknowne, you said. But this of sorrow mind is no small cause: Yt, wheras of things a good guide there is, 15 Evile at all can in the world have place. / Or yt it can escape unpunished.

<sup>1</sup> Physick] physick MS

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> both] "o" deleted after "o" MS

W<sup>ch</sup> only thinge how much we may<sup>3</sup> admire, Consider seriouslie I you require. But hereunto a thinge of greater weight 20 May be adioyn'd, yt when as Wickednes Doth dominere, and triumph florishinge: Vertue not only just reward doth want, But also under foote of miscreants Debased, is wth insolence downerrode. 25 And in the stead of vile impietie Sustaineth punishment. Wch thinge to be Wth in the Kingdome of so great a God, Who knoweth all, who is omnipotent, And willing only good, no5 mortall man 30 Not only can admire sufficientlie. But also can lament. Then answered she, P. It should indeede astonishment procure, And be more horrible then Monsters all, Yf (as you iudge) in th'house<sup>6</sup> of such a Lord, 35 Whose familie is best in order set. Base vessels should be had in cheife respect, And those of price neglected should seeme vile. But so it is not, for if wee observe 40 The proposic[i]ons concluded late, By Gods assistance, of whose government Wee here intreate, you plaine shall understand, Y' honest men are allwaies men of might. / And evill men are abjects base and weake. / Neith[er] yt vice unpunished escapes. / 45 Nor vertue doth deserved guerdon° want. That to good men felicitie pertaines. And to the wicked still unhappie fate. /

And many such conclusions you shall knowe, W<sup>ch</sup>, quite abandoninge the waylinge late,

And for as much as you have late beheld,

34 ·[r]

50

May thee wth verity corroborate.

<sup>3</sup> may] inserted above with caret

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Wickednes] erasure in MS over-written

<sup>5</sup> no] No MS

<sup>6</sup> th'house] "e" deleted with apostrophe inserted above

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15

20

25

By demonstrac[i]ons myne, the verie forme
Of true beatitude, as also where

It doth consist, you apprehended have.
Omittinge all such things as I suppose
Are fitt to be omitted, I will shewe
To thee, the way w<sup>ch</sup> may thee home recall.
And to thy mynd I will such wings affix,

Wherew<sup>th</sup> it may on highe w<sup>th</sup> ease ascend
So as expellinge perturbac[i]ons vaine:
Safely you may into yo[ur] native land
Returne, I guidinge you as by the hand.

Meter 1 · /

For winges I have web speede will make, Able to peirce the stately skies: Which when my mynd desires to take, The earth below she doth despice. She passinge also globe of ayre, Leaveth the cloudes of no account, And fire, with the Heavens sphere Becometh hot, she doth surmount. Untill to Planets she ascend. And Phœbus motions doth behould. And Souldier Mars doth view in th'end, And courses all of Saturne cold. And through the starry firmament, W<sup>ch</sup> doth adorne the obscure night, When she hath therin longe tyme spent Leavinge the Poles, she mounts upright, Till she behould the christall sky, And also pleasant Paradice, Where Lord of Lordes reigneth on highe, Rulinge the world with iust advice. / Movinge the sphære, immoveable, Remaininge Iudge in glitteringe light. Whither if thou t'ascend be able, Thou wilt forget earthes base delight. / And thus wilt say I call to mynd This is my native cuntryes soyle: From whence my offspringe I do finde,

[34 v]

Here will I rest my steps from toyle.

Which if it please you to behould,

Renouncinge earthes darke glomy face:

Tyrants whom men in reverence hould,

Ther you may see to have no place.

## Prose 2 ·

Then I thus said, these things are wonderfull W<sup>ch</sup> you me promise, but I nothinge doubt You are of might the same well to effect.

Only I praie you do no tyme protract,
But me instruct, whom you attentive made.

P. First then, said she, you ought to understand That good men allwaies are w<sup>th</sup> might endued,
And evill men are voyd of seeminge strength.

Both w<sup>ch</sup> by mutuall demonstrac[i]on
One by the other manifest is made.

For seing opposit are good and evill,
Yf good be proved to be powerfull,
Weakenes of evill may wee thence collect.

Also by evills imbicillity,

15 Wee may conclude goodnes stabillity. /
But y' I may, this my assertion
Wth proufs abundantlie, the more confirme:
Both propositions handled severall,
Now one, now th'oth[er], I assume to prove.

20 Two<sup>8</sup> things there are wherin every effect
Of humaine actions do consist and stand:
Namely the will, and power: of whom if one
Thereof be wanttinge, nothinge can be done. /
For if a will be wantinge to performe,

No man doth undertake, save what he will But if abilitie be not, to do
What wee intend, the will is frustrat made.
Wherby it comes to passe yf you p[er]ceive Any to wish what he cannot obtaine,

30 Y' such man wanted strength you may be sure,

35 [r]

8 Two] Tow MS

5

10

<sup>7</sup> attentive] word deleted with attentive inserted above with caret

What thinge his will desired to procure. B. Doubtles, said I, this consequent is plaine. P. Now when you see effected what men would, That he could do it, can you make doubt? B. No. P. Now what a man can do theirin he is 35 To be esteemed stronge. But he is weake Wherein his will he cannot execute. B. This I confess said I. P. But do you not Remember in my former disputac[i]ons It was concluded, yt all mens intents 40 Allthough at sundry objects they do ayme, Yet all their studdies are bent to aspire Unto beatitude? B. That you, said I, Have this confirmed I remember well. P. Dost not thou call to mind beatitude 45 To be a certaine good, and thereuppon Wheras all men desire felicity, All men to goodnes to attaine contend? B. This thinge said I what neede I call to mynd? Sith this, in memory, I fixed hould. / 50 P. All men therefore, both 10 good, and bad do strive Wth one accord to gaine what thinge is good. B. This consequent ariseth naturall, Ph. But sure by gettinge good, men are good made. B. Yes certainely. P. Good men therefore obtaine 55 What they do wish to have. B. So doth it seeme. / P. But wicked men if they could app[re]hend True goodnes wch they likewise covet, then They could not evill be. B. It is right so. P. Then wheras both of them, what good is, wish 60 But only one obtaine, the other not. Can any doubt, y' good men puissant be, And evil men are curbed by debility? B. Who doubteth this, said I, can neith[er] iudge Of natures course, nor reasons consequence. / 65 P. Againe, she said, if two<sup>11</sup> men do propound

<sup>9</sup> desired] "o" deleted after "i" MS

<sup>10</sup> both] "o" deleted after "o" MS

<sup>11</sup> two] tow MS

[35 v]

One and the same exploit to undertake: Of whom the one by natures benefit The same beginninge, doth accomplish full, 70 The other destitute of natures helpe, Is not of might the same to execute, But doth by other meanes unnaturall The doer imitate, yet not him match. Wheth[er] of these more mightie may you iudge? B. Allthough what you intend hence to informe 75 I do coniecture, yet heare more I would. P. ffor men to walk, a mocsilon naturall To be, will you deny. B. No, in no wise. P. Yf one then havinge use of feete should walke Anoth[er] havinge not the benefite 80 Of feete by nature, should upon his hands Endeavo[ur] for to walke, whether of these More able to performe it can wee iudge? B:12 Assume the rest, said I, for no man doubts The Agent naturall, to be of might 85 Much more then he who wanteth natures aide. P:13 But soveraigne good, wch evil and good men Do both propound, only good men the same By vertues naturall instinct, require: But evill men by sundry appetits 90 Of greedy lusts, weh true good to obtain Is nothinge naturall, do go about The same to gaine. Do you thinke otherwise? B. Not I for thence the consequent 95 Is evident, from former principles Wch I have granted, namely yt good men Are mighty men, and yt bad men are weake. P. Rightlie, said she, to mind thou dost revoke W<sup>ch</sup> is (accordinge to Phisitians rule) 100 A signe of natures forces rectified. But now because to understand most prompt

I thee behould, I will not amplifie,

But breiflie will my reasons comp[re]hend.

<sup>12</sup> B.] inserted in left margin

<sup>13</sup> P.] inserted in left margin

36 ·[r]

Behould bad mens infirmitie appeares 105 In yt, wherto intention naturall As by the hand doth leade, and urge by force, Therto they no way able are to reache. What may wee thinke of theire debility Yf wicked men, of natures benefit, Wch was ingrafted firme, deprived be. 110 Consider furth[er] in the wicked traine What imbillicity doth still remaine. / For no small thinge it is that they would have, W<sup>ch</sup> they cannot effect and bringe to passe: But they do faile about the supreme good 115 Of things, and cannot to the wished end Attaine, wherto they night and day contend, Wherin the strength of good men<sup>14</sup> doth excell. ffor as the man who walking on his feete, Unto the place can reach, then wch no way 120 Is further to be found, is thought to be Most able for to walke: Even so yt man Who can to uttermost limyt of good, Beyond the wch no further good can be, Aspire, most mighty him wee needs must judge. 125 ffrom whence the contrary wee may collect, Y' wicked men are voyde of any might, For wherfore do they vices prosecute, Forsakinge vertue? Is it ignorance Of what is good? But what more impotent 130 Can be, then blindnes of base ignorance? Or what is to be followed do they know, And lust doth headlonge force them from the truth? So likewise by intemperance they should 135 Be of no might, who cannot conquere 15 vice. / Or do they willinglie, and wittinglie, The good forsake, and give themselves to ill: But so, not only 16 to be men of might They cease to be, but to be anythinge.

14 men] inserted above with caret

16 only] only deleted after only MS

<sup>15</sup> conquere] "e" inserted above with caret after "u"

ffor they who leave the common end17 of all 140 Y' hath a beinge, cease to be at all. / Wch thinge to some perhaps may seeme full strange, That evill men, who are the greater sort, To have no beinge, we should thus affirme. / But so it is, for they y' evil are, 145 Them to be evil I do not deny: But I deny yt merely and in truth They have any existens. ffor like as A carcas dead, a dead man you may call: 150 Simplie a man yet you may not him call. So wicked men I graunt they18 evill are, But absolutely, yt they beinge have, I may not grant. For yt existence hath Wch order doth retaine, and nature keepes, 155 But what therefrom doth swarve, relinquisheth That beinge, wch in nature proper was. But you will say, bad men can something do. [36 v] I grant, but what they can effect Proceedeth not from might but imbecillity. For evill they can bringe to pass at ease, 160 Which they had not been able to effect, Yf yt in doing good they could abide. I gath[er] then yt they by such abilitie To do bad things, can nothing do at all. / 165 ffor if as wee before concluded have Evill is nothinge, then wheras they are Only of might to execute bad things: Y' wicked men can nothing do it seemes. / B. It is most evident. P. But to the end What might they have, you may now understand 170 Wee have this thinge before determined, Y' nothinge is more stronge then supreme good. /

B: Tis true. P. But y' cannot do evill. B. No. P. Doth any man suppose, y' seely men

Can all things do? 19 B. No man, except he dote.

19 do?] do. MS

175

<sup>17</sup> end] good deleted with end inserted above with caret

<sup>18</sup> they] ie altered to "y" MS

P. But they can evill do. B. I would to God They could not. Then wheras he can do all Who can do what is good, but nothing so It fareth20 wth bad men, who only ill Are able to perform, it's manifest 180 Y' such bad men, are weaker then the best: Moreover, wee declared have before, Y' mighty strength, is to be numbered Amongst such things as are to be required, 185 And that such things as wished are, to be, To good, as unto natures certaine head, Referred ought to be. But the ability Of hainous crimes cannot be unto good Referred then it is not to be wished 190 But mighty things are to be wished all. Then whatsoever wicked men can do May not be said to be a worke of might. ffrom all wch proufs I gather the ability Of good men, and bad mens most fraile debilitie. The sentence is most true yt Plato hath 195 That only wise men can effect such thinges As they desire, but as for wicked men, They exercise what thinges do serve their lust But cannot satisfie theire myndes desire. They do their appetit strive to fulfill,<sup>21</sup> 200 While as they thinke yt good they can obtaine: W<sup>ch</sup> they desire by menes of their delights, But they cannot attaine their wished end, For vice to happines cannot ascend.

37 ·[r]

## Meter 2 ·

If any man might maskinge robes uncover
Of stately Kinges, who highe in regall seate
You do behould soaringe aloft to hover,
In glitteringe suites of purple shininge neate,
Environed with armed souldiers sad,
Who are, with threatning lookes, and bloudshed mad

21 fulfill] fuffill MS

5

<sup>20</sup> fareth] "e" deleted after "f" MS

He then may see
Such rulers to sustaine
Vice inwardly,
Like bondes, them to detaine.

10

15

20

5

For somtymes lusts torments their poysned hart, Somtyme ire turbulent doth tosse their mind, Somtime greife captivatinge makes them smart, Vaine hope somtime doth vexe<sup>22</sup> with passions blind.

Then for so much as one man doth sustaine
So many tyrannizinge passions vaine:

He cannot do
What he would faine effect,
Oppress'd so
Affections him deiect.

Prose 3 · /

Wherefore, in what mire ignominious
Vices<sup>23</sup> are rowled do you not behould?
And in what excellencie virtue shines?
Wherefrom ariseth consequents most plaine,
Y<sup>t</sup> godly men do never want rewards,
Nor wicked men do punishments escape.
ffor of the things w<sup>ch</sup> men attempt to do,
That thinge, for w<sup>ch</sup> another thinge is done,
It seemes therof to be a recompence. /
As unto him that in a Race doth run[n]e,

As unto him that in a Race doth run[n]e,
The Game, for w<sup>ch</sup> he run[n]es, his guerdon° is.
But y<sup>t</sup> beatitude is such a good
For w<sup>ch</sup> alone all enterprises<sup>24</sup> are
Attempted, I before<sup>25</sup> declared have,

Then unto humaine Action very good

As guerdon° common unto all is sett,

But from good men this parted cannot be.

ffor why? Such man may not be called good,

<sup>22</sup> vexe] inserted above with caret

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Vices] letter deleted after "i" with "c" inserted above

<sup>24</sup> enterprises] "r" deleted after third "e" MS

<sup>25</sup> before] there deleted before "f" with be inserted above

[37 v]

Do not forsake mens manners Vertuouse. /
Let wicked men then rage never so much,
Yet wise mens crowne doth not decay nor fade,
Nor wickednes, w<sup>ch</sup> is from goodnes strange,
Can from good myndes their proper Guerdon° steale.

Who wantteth goodnes, wherefore iust rewards

- 25 But if *impietie* should vainely boast
  Of y<sup>t</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> it receives extrinsecall,
  Eyth[er] anoth[er], or he y<sup>t26</sup> it gave,
  Againe may such externall thinges revoke.
  But sith reward men gaine by pietie,
- Y' fayleth then, when *men* faile *good* to be. /
  Lastlie wheras *every* reward is sought
  Because it is supposed to be *good*,
  What man will iudge him, who doth *good* enioy,
  To be w<sup>th</sup>out reward? But what reward?
- Most beautifull and greatest guift of all.
  For call to mind my corallary late.
  Which I thee gave as a cheife consequent,
  And argue thus: wheras beatitude
  Is verie good, yt good men blessed all<sup>27</sup>
- 40 Become, in y' they good are, it is plaine<sup>28</sup>
  Now they who blessed are, they Gods become,
  The crowne then of the good is to be Gods
  W<sup>ch</sup> crowne no day can wast, nor might can spoile,
  Or mans impietie can put to foile.
- W<sup>ch</sup> beinge so a wise man cannot doubt:
  Of bad mens punishment inseperable. /
  ffor wheras good and evill do dissent,
  And punishments and guifts contrary are,
  What thinge touchinge the Guerdon° of good men
- Wee see to come to passe, the same must be Full correspondent on the adverse parte,
  By any meanes in bad mens punishment.
  Then as to good men goodnes is reward,

<sup>26</sup> yt] word deleted after yt MS

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> all] become deleted after all MS

<sup>28</sup> it is plaine] they Gods become deleted with it is plaine inserted above with caret

38 [r]

So to<sup>29</sup> the bad theire vice is punishment. Now who so is crossed wth punishment 55 He doubteth not yt evill doth him vexe. Wherefore if they themselves examine would No punishment to have can they account, Whom vilest vice not only doth deject But doth excedinglie wth sores infect? 60 But further see contrary to the good, What punishment attendeth on the bad. ffor all things having beinge you are taught Are one, wch one is good, from whence it is Y' every thinge y' is, seemes to be good. 65 Then whatsoever fayleth to be good, The same thinge ceaseth for to be at all. ffrom whence it followeth yt wicked men Do cease to be, what thinge they were before. But yt they have ben men their humaine shape 70 Remaininge still doth manifestlie showe. Wherefore they turninge into wickednes, Their former humaine nature they do loose. But for so much as only honestie 75 Can man above mans dignitie promote, It necessarylie doth follow hence, Impiety below mans worth detruds Them, whom it doth from humaine state deject. Then metamorphosed whom you do see 80 By vices, judge not him a man to be. Doth violent Extorters of mens goods Wth gredy appetit inflamed rage? Like raveninge wolfe you may such man esteeme. Ys any feirce and turbulent, whose tounge Wth brawlinge controversies is defiled? 85 Him comparable to a dogge account. Doth any secretlie reioyce to lurke In privie corners wth fraude to purloine? Such man to foxes you may equalize. Doth any man intemperatelie chase? 90

The lions mind to beare he may be thought.

29 to] inserted above with caret

5

20

Is any timorous<sup>30</sup> and fugitive Trembling at yt wch he ought not to feare? Like to the stagges in cowardice he stands. Is any slowe of dull and drowsie spirit? 95 A life he leades not differinge from the Asse. / Light and inconstant doth his mind still change? From flittinge foules he doth nothinge dissent. / Wth foule and filthie lust is he bemyr'd? Wth stinckinge swines delight he taynted is. 100 So com[m]eth it to passe yt every man Who, honestie forsakinge, doth surcease To be a man, because he cannot reach To be transformed into divine nature, He changed is into a beastlie creature. 105

[38 v]

## Meter 3 · /

The wind, Ulisses tossed shipps, did drive
On surginge Seas unto a strange Iland,
After his wandering longe, who did arive
Where Goddes Circes regall seate did stand,
From Sol descended, who with charmes doth strive
Prepared cups to offer with her hand
To guests arrivinge new as they resort,
Changinge their shapes with skill in sundry sort.

Deformed shape of Bore some do retaine,

Like lion feirce w<sup>th</sup> teeth and pawes some growe,
Like howlinge wolfe complaninge some remaine,
To howse some tame like Indian Tygers go.
Though Mercury unloose him from her chaine
And in his many troubles pittie show,
The rest yet of Ulisses men from harme
Not so secured tasted of her charme.

Who unto Swine transform'd on acornes fed, W<sup>th</sup> they were faine instead of breade to chew: Whose wonted voice, and body vanished, Their mynd alone unchanged grones to veiwe

<sup>30</sup> timorous] "o" inserted above with caret after "m"

Their owne deformed shape so altered. / O feble charmes! Small change could thence ensue, Though members they can chaunge from nature kind, Yet are unable to transforme mans mynd. /

Vigor of man is seated in the hart 25 Internally conveyed farre from sight, Placed in Turret stronge by Natures art Free from such incantations dreadfull might, The secret poyson of vile vices dart, Rather transformeth man with subtill slight. 30 And though mans body be conserved sound

These yo[ur] assertions I grant, said I,

5

10

Yet savage vices charmes mans minde doth wounde. /

#### Prose 4 .

Nor wthout cause I see yt vicious men Allthough still humaine shape they do retaine, Are said to be transformed into beasts, By reason of their qualitie of mynd. But yt the savage and ungodlie mynd, Unto the hurt of good men should so rage, I would they had not so much libertie. P. Noe liberty, said she, theirin they have, As shall be proved in convenient place, But if yt thinge wch is imagined Lawfull for them to be, removed were, A great parte of the punishment most just Of wicked men theirby should be releived. For yt wch seemes incredible to some, Ungodlie men are more unfortunate, When they their lust and wishes execute,

15 Then if those hainous Acts wch they desire They were not able for to bringe to passe.

For if to have a will to wicked things 20 Be misery, then to be of might To execute the same, more wretched is Wthout the wch th'effect of wretched will Is of noe force. Then for as much

25 As in these severally is misery 39 [r]

Wth threfould wretchednes they vexed are Whom you behould, to will to be of might, And to effect the thinge, yt wicked is. B. I veild hereto, said I, but I do wish From hart, they should quicklie deprived be 30 Of such misfortune, and yt they should want Abilitie to compasse wicked acts. P.31 They shall therof soner deprived be Then you perhaps will eyth[er] wish, or they Them selves suppose they shall be destitute. 35 For nothinge is in lymits short of life So durable, yt mans im[m]ortall mynd Should make account hereto continue longe. / Of wch bad men the expectac[i]on greate And highe attempts of their godlesse exploits, 40 Wth suddaine and unlooked for event, It oftentymes made frustrate of their hopes. / Wch is to them an end of misery. For if ungodlines men wretched make, The more they are in miserable case 45 By how much more their vice continueth. / Whom most unfortunate I should esteeme Yf yt their wickednes by death at last (Yf not before) should not be finished. For if of the misfortune of vile vice, 50 Wee have the truth by demonstracfilon shewed It needs must be an endles misery, W<sup>ch</sup> is protracted to eternitie. / B. A strange and difficult conclusion This is to be by man subscribed too. 55 But to the p[re]misses granted before This consequent doth well agre, I know. P. You iudge aright, but who so doth esteeme It difficult to grant a consequent, It is required yt he demonstrate 60 Eyth[er] the antecedent to be false, Or els the propositions disposition. To be inartificially fram'd

31 P.] inserted in left margin

[39 v]

So as from thence a necessary drift Of sound conclusion cannot be deduced, 65 For otherwise yf yt the premisses Be granted to be true, ther is no cause Why one should doubt of the conclusions clause. / But this also weh I will now declare No lesse to be admyred may appeare 70 But from yt wch before assumed is It is as necessary. B. What is that? P. That men unhonest are more happie farre When they sustaine deserved punishment Then if no penaltie inflicted were. / 75 But I intend not now yt to conclude W<sup>ch</sup> every man doth plainelie beare in mynd, Y' manners of bad men corrected are By punishments, and by the feare therof Are terrified and unto good reclaim'd 80 And unto oth[ers] are examples made, For to avoyde what thinge is worthie blame. But I account yt by anothers means Unhonest men much more unhappie are When as they do unpunished escape, 85 Though their correction, and examples theirs, Wee cease to urge, nor have therof respect. B. What oth[er] meanes of proufe besides these is? P. That good men happie are, and evill men Are wretched have not we concluded? B. Yes. 90 P. Yf then, said she, unto mans misery Some good annexed be, is not his state More happie, then the miserie of such W<sup>ch</sup> merely wretched are, voyd of all good 95 Mixture wherof may miseries asswage. B. It seemeth so. P. What if yt wretched man

Is not he to be thought a wretched man

Much more unhappie then the other is,
Whose misery by mixture of some good
Asswaged is? B. Good reason so, said I.
P. Now wicked men sustaininge punishment

Another evill have annexed more,

Who destitute of all good things remaines

40 [r]

	Some good to them therby annexed have,
105	Namely the punishment it selfe, w <sup>ch</sup> is
	Yf you respect the iustice, a good thinge. /
	And when such men unpunished escape
	Therby to them some evill added is,
	To wit impunity, w <sup>ch</sup> you confesse
110	And not unworthelie, yt it is ill.
	B. I cannot it deny. P. Then wicked men
	Escapinge by uniust impunity,
	Are more unhappie, then when punished
	By iust severity they are restrain'd.
115	But it is evident yt wicked men
	To be chasticed is a righteous Act,
	And them to be unpunished is wronge.
	B. Who can deny it? P. But anoth[er] thinge
	No man can well deny, yt what is just
120	The same must needs be good in any case,
	Contrariwise what is uniust, is ill.
	B. ffrom former sentences concluded, these
	By necessary consequents arise. /
	But I besech you, do you make account
125	After the body is by death surprised
	The souls of men no punishment sustaine?
	P. Yea, punishment they suffer very great. /
	Wherof I thinke some exercised are
	Wth endless torments sharpe austeritie:
130	Others are purged not wth such severity. /
	But in this place, concerninge punishments
	Of this kinde to dispute, I purpose not. /
	I hitherto have only enterprized
	Y' you may understand y' all the power
135	Of wicked men w <sup>ch</sup> did appeare to you
	To be unworthie most, is non at all. /
	And yt whom you complained to escape
	Unpunished, you might behould, yt they
	Reape punishment for their ungodlines.
140	And yt the libertie wch you did pray
	Might quicklie come to end, you might perceive
	Not to be longe, and if it should be longe,
	So much the more unhappie it should be. /

And most unhappie if it had no end. ffurther yt wicked men more wretched are 145 When they unjustlie range unpunished, Then when by just revenge they are supprest. / Wherto this consequent inferred stands, Y' then they greater punishment sustaine, [40 v] When they are thought to be unpunished. / 150 B. When as your former reasons I behould Nothinge more true then theise things are, I judge: But when to humaine iudgement I returne, What man is he, not only who beleves These proposic[i]ons, but who will them heare? / 155 P. It is right so, for they cannot errect Theire eies, to darknes blind accustomed, To veiwe the light of truth perspicuous.° But are like owles, whose eyes<sup>32</sup> the night Illuminateth, but the day doth blind. 160 ffor while they looke not on the course of things, But only their affections do behould, They iudge yt licence and impunity Offences to commit is happie state. / 165 But what the law eternall ratifieth Observe, if unto vertues excellent The minde thou shalt addict, thou shalt not neede To have a judge to offer thee reward, Thou shalt thy selfe make equal to the Gods. Yf unto vices vile thou give thy mynd, 170 Externall punisher thou needs not seeke, Thy selfe like to the beasts thou dost debase. / Like as if you by courses mutuall The abiect earth, and heavens highe behould Allthough externall judgements do surcease, 175 Yet you by reason sole of sight shall seeme Somtyme the clay sometyme the starres to touch. But vulgar sort these things do not respect. What then? Shall wee to them yeild ofur] consent,

Whom wee to be as beasts declared have?33

180

<sup>32</sup> eyes] erasure over-written

<sup>33</sup> have?] have. MS

What if a man deprived whole of sight Y' he hath had his sight, should quite forget And should suppose yt he doth nothinge want To humaine complements perfection? 185 May wee not thinke yt they who judge the same Are also blind themselves? For com[m]on sort Of men herto will by no meanes subscribe, Wch builded standes uppon like stable ground Of reason strong, that they who offer wrong 190 Are more unhappie by many degres, Then such men are who suffer injuries. / B: These reasons yo[urs] to heare I much expect. P. Can you deny yt every wicked man Deserveth punishment to have[?]34 B. Fy no. 195 P. But it is many waies made evident Y' they who wicked are, unhappie are. B. Most true it is. P. Then they who punishment Deserve, you doubt not but they wretched are. B. These things wth truth accord. P. Yf then you were 200 An Arbitrator sett in judgment seate. Whom will you judge ought to be punished Him yt did offer, or yt suffered wronge. B. I would not study longe to satisfie The man who had sustayned iniury, 205 By punishinge the doer of the wronge. P. Then he more wretched far to you should seeme Who doth infer, then he who suffered wronge. / B. The consequent is good. P. Wherefore by this And such like reasons builded on this ground 210 Y' foule dishonestie, by nature doth Make men to be in miserable cause. It doth appeare yt offred iniury To any man is not so much a wronge To the receiver, as to the offerer. / 215 But now o[ur] Orators deale otherwise For they for such as suffer violence, The *Iudges* to excite to pittie strive When as the trespasser much rath[er] ought

41 [r]

<sup>34</sup> have[?]] have MS

By iust compassion to be pytied Who rath[er] ought to iudgment to be brought 220 As patients sicke to the Phisitian, By such accusers as would pittie them, And not in heate of choller them accuse. Y' they by punishment might extirpate And launce the wound of their com[m]itted cryme. 225 W<sup>ch</sup> thing observed, the defenders ayde Would either wholely languishe wthout use, Or if to do them good they rather wish, Then their defense of such they should convert Into the habit of accusing them. / 230 Allso such wicked men yf they could frame Their sight of mind in some measure to veiwe, Beauty of vertue, whom they did forsake And would consider yt by punishments They shall the staines of vices wash away, 235 And may thereby to honestie aspire, Their chasticements they would not tortures count, Defenders paines they also would refuse, And to Accusers, and to Iudges will They wholely would them selves therin com[m]it. / 240 Wherby it comes to passe yt wth wise men No place at all for hatred can be left. / ffor who, except he be a blockish foole, Will hate good men? And evil men to hate Were as absurd and void of reasons ground. 245 ffor as mans body hath infirmities So vice is as the sicknes of the mynd. Now sith sicke men in body non doth hate. But rath[er] such wth pittie we behould: 250 Much more such wicked men, whose sickly mynds Impiety more feirce then any paines,

# Meter 4 ·

What gaineth man deadly tumults to breede? And fate to instigate with his owne hand? If death you seeke, death doth approach w<sup>th</sup> speede,

Molesteth mightely, we should not hate: But rather them w<sup>th</sup> teares commiserate. / [41 v]

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5

Whose horses swiftlie coursinge never stand. 5 Whom Serpent, Lion, Tiger, Beare, and Bore, With tooth assaile, with sword men punish more.

> Do men attempt uniust and savage warre, And wish to slay each other mutually, Because their soile and manners differ farre? Thes are no reasons sound of cruelty. Would you to all men iust deservinges give, Love godly men, and for the35 godles live.

#### Prose 5 .

ffrom hence what happines, or misery Consisteth in the merits of the good, As also of the bad, I do behould. / Yet in mans common fortune I p[er]ceive Some good or evill therein to inhere. ffor noe wise man will rather chouse to be Banished, poore, and ignominious, Then to excell in wealth and dignitie, To be of powerfull strength, and to remayne In his own native Citty florishinge. 10 ffor so more clearely and apparently His wisdomes office he may execute. ffor in some sort Rulers beatitude Transferred is to forreine Nations. 15 Wheras especially imprisonment, The law, and legall penalties, are due Rath[er] to Citizens pernicious. For whose default they constituted were. / Wherefore I much admyre why these events 20 Unequally wth course reciprocall Are chaunged so, yt vices punishments Oppresse good men, and wicked men do reape Vertues reward. And I request of you To understand what may the reason be 25 Of such uniust and strange confusion.

ffor lesse should I admire, if I did iudge

42 ·[r]

<sup>35</sup> the they MS

All things by fortunes changes mixed were: But God now beinge governo[ur] of all This my astonishment doth aggravate. Who for as much as oft he doth impart 30 To good men pleasures, and to bad men smart. Contrariwise to godly men sometymes He sendeth crossing tribulacfilons, And to men wicked their desires doth graunt. Unles the cause hereof wee can p[er]ceive, 35 What may be thought herein to disagree From fortunes fickle mutability? P. No marvile if some things confused seeme, While men are ignorant of yt highe cause 40 Whereby God doth in order all dispose. Yet<sup>36</sup> sith the world is guided by Gods might, Doubt not but all things do succeede aright. /

Meter 5 ·

Arcturus starres if any do not know
Neare to the Articke pole fixed to move,
Skies rules admyreth, why Bootes slow
In our Horizon tarieth longe above
Drivinge his wayne,° not hidden longe in Sea,
He streightway doth him selfe in sight display.

5

10

[42 v]

The hornes of full Moone darkned pale do growe,
Ecclipsed in the tyme of gloumy night:
Whose dimmed light discovered starres doth show,
Whom Phoebe shininge bright had hid from sight.
From hence Error doth many Nations move,
With bels and basons Moones charmes to remove.

But non admireth that the blusteringe blasts

Doth beate the shore with fominge waves and stormes,

Nor that congeled snow drift quickly wasts,

Dissolved by bright scorchinge Phœbus beames. /

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Yet] word deleted after Yet MS (Yet was inscribed in the indentation just to the left of the deleted word)

5

10

15

For, in thes last examples cyted here, Do certaine causes evident appeare.

The other former causes hidden are,

Which to find out most mindes of men torment:

Knowledge wherof lately found out is rare,

And common sort admire such strange event. /

If mistie ignorance depart from mynd,

Nothinge to be admired shall we finde. /

#### Prose 6 .

These things are true, said I, but for as much As causes of things secret to discusse, And reasons hid in darknes to revayle, Unto yo[ur] selfe by right doth appertaine: I now besech you these things to decide, And me herin instruct. For this strang thinge Above all other doth amazement bringe. She somewhat smyling then, thus answered. P. To matter most profound and intricate You me insight, wch to determine full And finde the deepth therof what can suffice. / For such a thinge<sup>37</sup> it is, y<sup>t</sup> as one doubt Resolved is, innumerable mo, Like heads of Hydra, do againe arise. Neither will any limyts this containe, Unles wth prudence one the same restraine. / ffor in this cause wee are accustomed

43 ·[r]

For to propound great disputac[i]on,

Also concerninge fatall causes course,
Concerninge chaunces casuall events,
Of Gods foreknowledge, and p[re]destinac[i]on,
Concerninge freedom of the will of man.
Which thinge of what importance and what weight
They are, you do observe. But for so much
As no small porc[i]on of yo[ur] medicyn

This is for you to understand these things,

Of the symplicity of providence

<sup>37</sup> a thinge] a thinge deleted after a thinge MS

Allthough<sup>38</sup> environed wth narrow bounds Of tyme wee are, yet will wee undertake Something hereof now to deliberate. 30 But if you do in verses musicall Take delectac[i]on, yet such pleasures yo[urs] You must a while forebeare untill such tyme As I shall have propounded Arguments In order lincked wth fitt consequents. / 35 B. Do what you please, said I, then she began As if new matter she would undertake. / And thus she did dispute. P. The generacijon Of every thing, as also every chaunge Of things yt are by nature mutable, 40 And what so moved is in any wise, Receiveth causes, order, and their formes, From the stability of mynd divine. / W<sup>ch</sup> beinge seated in the turret highe Of Gods simplicity determineth 45 Meanes manifould of executing things. / Wch meanes when as it is considered Accordinge as it is, in divine purity Of Gods intelligence, it named is His providence. / But when relacijon 50 It hath to those affaires weh it doth move And doth dispose in orders regiment, Then fate it called is of th'Auncient. / Wch to be things distinct may plaine appeare, Yf yt the efficacy39 of them both 55 A man consider by the sight of mynd. For providence is yt reason divine Wch constituted is in supreme Prince, [43 v] Of all w<sup>ch</sup> doth all things disposinge guide. / But fate is such a disposic[i]on 60 Wch doth in transitory things consist,

38 Allthough] letter deleted after final "h" MS

Whereby Gods providence uniteth all

In order severall firme to where [each is].40 /

39 efficacy] ic inserted above with caret

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> each is] emendation to complete sentence [Latin: . . . fatum vero inhaerens rebus mobilibus dispositio per quam providentia suis quaeque nectit ordinibus.]

ffor providence doth all things comp[re]hend, 65 As if they were all one, allthough they be Distinguished, though infinit they were. But fate things severall distributinge Into their moc[i]ons, places, formes, and tymes, Them doth digest, wch explicac[i]on 70 Of order temporall considered As in Gods knowledge it doth stand foreseene, It is his providence: but the same union As it divided is and in due tymes Reveyled, so it may be called fate. / W<sup>ch</sup> though they be distinct, yet doth the one 75 Of these uppon the other still depend. ffor fatall order ever springeth hence, From the simplicity of providence. ffor like as the Artificer, the forme Of what he would have finished in mynd 80 Retaining, doth the workes effect attempt. And what he simplie, and in one instant Of tyme foresawe, he doth in tyme produce. Likewise doth God by divine providence 85 By one sole Act most steadfastlie dispose Of what is to be put in execuc[i]on. / But those things weh he so disposed hath, By many meanes and seasons severall, By course of fate he doth administer. 90 Then whether fate by certaine divine spirits Attendant on Gods providence doth stand, Wheth[er] the soule, or Natures entire frame, Serve therunto, or influence of starres, Celestiall in firmament who move 95 Whether the course of fate united is By Angels regiment, or spirits skill: Wheth[er] by some of these, or ells by all. Yet this is manifest yt providence Is the im[m]oveable and simple forme Of all things w<sup>ch</sup> are to be brought to passe. / 100 But fate of those things wch simplicity Of divine providence determined

To be effected, is the mutable

44 ·[r]

Connecting of the same in tract of tyme. / Wherby it is yt what things unto fate 105 Are subject, they likewise to providence Subjected stand, to whom fate also yeildes. But certaine things weh under providence Contained are, surpasse the course of fate. Such are those things weh fixed stedfastly 110 Adioyninge neare to nature most divine Order of fatall levity surmount. / ffor like as of these orbes wch rowled are About the Pole, yt wch is innermost 115 Is nearest to the meanes stability. And as it were a center to the rest, W<sup>ch</sup> from the same are placed further of, The furthermost wherof turned about Wth greater circuit, by how much it is Distant from the Poles point indivisible, 120 By so much more it doth in ample course Of larger space extend his moc[i]ons. But if unto the middle point of Pole Shall any thinge it selfe associate, 125 Therto united fast, it doth become Immutable,41 and ceaseth to extend His wandring courses moving far and wide, In like sort what thinge further doth depart From Gods stabilitie of mind most sovereigne, 130 In greater laborinth of ficle fate Insnared is, and so much more from fate A thinge exempted is, by how much more Neare to the center of Gods maiestie He doth approach, but if it shall cleve fast 135 To the stabilitie of supreme minde, So shall it not by wanderinge mocfilons raunge But shall surmount the toyle of fatall chaung. [44 v] The movinge order of fates mutability Compared to the pure stabilitie

41 Immutable] ImMutable MS, Im inserted in left margin

140

Of providence divine, hath like proporc[i]on

As myndes discourse hath to the intellect.

Or that wch framed is by generation To yt wch hath his beinge permanent, Or tymes succession to eternity, 145 Or as a circle to the middle point. / This course of fatall destiny doth move Heaven and constellations of the starres, And *Elements* doth temper mutuall By commutac[i]on reciprocall, 150 Who doth transforme their qualities and formes. / The same concourse of fate doth still renue All things yt do begine, or cease to live, By like progresse of issue and of seede. Mans Actions all and fortunes fate doth bynd 155 By indissoluble causes connection, Whych<sup>42</sup> for so much as they proceding have From principles of stable providence, Wch in it selfe unchangeable doth stande, They needs must be them selves unchangable. 160 ffor so should things be best administred Yf singlenes abyding in Gods mynd Immutable orders of causes all Produce, wch order should such things restraine, W<sup>ch</sup> els would rashly changinge still remaine. Whereby it comes to passe, yt though we can 165 By no meanes understand this course of things So as all seeme confused out of frame, Yet not wth standinge course of providence Disposeth all, directinge it to good. 170 ffor nothing is for evills sake performed. No not so much as of unhonest men. Whom as abundantlie we have declared Ayminge at good, vile Error doth seduce. / Much lesse fatall decree w<sup>ch</sup> doth proceede From center of cheife goodnesse can wthdraw 175 Any from his begininges supreme lawe. / But you will say what strange confusion

42 Whych] ch inserted above with caret

Can more iniuriouslie be suffered, Then y' to good men both adversity,

- And prosperous events should so succede:
  And y' to evill men prosperitie,
  And odious afflictions should fall.
  Are men of such integritie of mynd
  Y' whom they shall iudge to be good or bad
- 185 They needes must be such as they be esteem'd?

  But herein mans opinion divers is

  And whom some do account worthie rewards,

  Others esteeme them worthie punishment,

  But let us here admit yt any man
- 190 Were able to discerne good men from bad
  Can he behould internall temperature
  Of mindes (as men of bodies use to speake)
  For myracle not much unlike to this
  It is to them who did not know the cause,
- 195 Whie unto healthie bodies should agree
  To some men sweete, to oth[ers] bitter things,
  Why sicke men also some w<sup>th</sup> sweete receipts,
  And some w<sup>th</sup> sowre restored are to health.
  But the *Phisitian* who doth conceive
- Of health and sicknes cause and qualities
  These things doth not in any case<sup>43</sup> admire.
  What other thinge doth soules health seeme to be
  Then honestie? What oth[er] thinge then vice
  Is the disease therof? Now who beside
- Y' God, who governeth and healeth mindes,
  P[re]serveth good men, 44 and restraineth bad?
  Who when as from highe glasse of providence
  He lokinge downe, doth clearely understande
  Wch is convenient for everyone:
- 210 To all he doth applie what seemeth fitt. /
  ffrom hence y' Miracle of fatall course

  Doth growe, when that by Gods knowledge is wrought,
  Who men ignorant amazement brought.

  Now y' I breiflie may conclude, so far
- As humaine reason able is to search,
  Touchinge the deepth of *divine* secrecies:

<sup>43</sup> case] "u" deleted after "a" MS

<sup>44</sup> men] inserted above with caret

[45 v]

That man whom you most just and righteous Esteeme, to Gods allseinge providence Accounted is to be farr otherwise. 220 As Lucan ofur] familier contreman Admonished y' Cæsars conqueringe cause Pleased the Gods, but Cato did approve The cause of Pompey beinge conquered. / Then whatsoever in the world you see 225 Besides mans expectacfilon to be done, Order in such things doth proceede aright, Allthough it seeme disorder in thy sight. / But graunt yt some man is so vertuous Y' in the iudgment 45 both of God and Men 230 He is pronounced to be righteous Yet in his strength of mynd he is infirme, So as in him adversitie should vey, Perhaps his innocency he might forsake, Esteeming yt the cause of his mishap. 235 Such man the prudent dispensac[i]ons Of God doth spare, whom such adversitie Crossinge would make much worse, lest unto whom Afflicc[i]ons are unfit, he might oppresse. / Another man wth vertues absolute In life sincere, and neare to God, there is 240 Him to be touched wth afflice ilons Of any kinde, Gods providence doth judge A thing unlawfull, so as not so much As wth diseases bodily to be 245 Afflicted he will suffer such a man. / ffor as a certaine man most excellent Hath witnessed yt vertues edifie The body of a man religious Moreover oftentymes it comes to passe 250 Y' to good men supreme authority Of government for great cause is convey'd Y' vice aboundinge may therby be staye'd. / To some he distributs now good now bad, Accordinge to the quality of mindes,

<sup>45</sup> iudgment] "g" inserted above with caret

255	Some he wth woes doth pinch lest they grow proud By longe prosperity. Some he permits Wth hard mishaps tossed to be turmoyl'd Ythey therby the vertues of their mind By exercise of patience might confirme.	
260	Some overmuch do feare to undertake What thinge they well are able to effect. Others p[re]suming make too small account Of that w <sup>ch</sup> they unable are to beare. These for the triall of their ablenes	46 <b>°</b> [r]
265	God leadeth into many crosses sharpe.  Some men have purchased wth costlie price Of glorious death a reverend name on earth.  Some men unconquered by punishments Have shew'd example unto other men,	
270	Y <sup>t</sup> vertue doth invincyble remayne,  Never subdued by the wicked trayne. /  Of all w <sup>ch</sup> things their is no question  Y <sup>t</sup> rightlie and in orders harmony  And for the benefite of them, to whom	
275	These seeme to chaunce, they executed are. / By w <sup>ch</sup> said resons it may proved be Y <sup>t</sup> to the wicked sometymes miseries, And sometyme wished things to them succeede. Concerning miseries no man admyres	
280	For all iudge them to have deserved ill: Whose punishments not only terryfie Others from hanyous crymes pernicious, But also mend them who are punished. But the prosperitie of wicked men	
285	Great Argument to good men doth afford What they should thinke of such felicity, Wch they behould to wayte on evill men. Wherin I iudge God wiselie doth dispose Y wheras some 47 are of such nature rash	
290	And so intemperatly importunate, Y <sup>t</sup> povertie would make them sharper sett	

<sup>46</sup> unconquered] un inserted above with caret
47 some] men deleted after some MS

[46 v]

	Headlonge to rushe into most vile attempts: This sicknes <i>providence</i> doth wisely cure By remedie of giving such man wealth.	
295	Such wicked man seinge his conscience	
273	Wth crymes polluted and shall wth him selfe	
	Compare theirw <sup>th</sup> his fortune prosperous,	
	Perhaps will feare lest sorrowfull he loose	
	The thinge wherof he hath the ioyfull use.	
300	ffor w <sup>ch</sup> cause <sup>48</sup> he will chaunge his manners bad	
300	and while his former fortune he shall feare	
	To loose, his wickednes he <sup>49</sup> will forbeare.	
	•	
	Some beinge rays'd unworthelie to top	
205	Of great prosperitie, are headlong cast	
305	Into deserved infelicitie. /	
	To some authoritie of punishinge	
	Permitted is, yt it might be the meanes	
	To exercise the vertues of the good:	
	And wth greate punishments to curb the bad. /	
310	ffor as no leauge concordant there can be	
	Betwen the honest and unhonest mynds,	
	So neither can unhonest men agree	
	Betwen themselves. And greatest reason why	
	For whereas vyces do distract the mynde,	
315	One from another, they do still dissent.	
	And oftentymes such things they enterprice	
	W <sup>ch</sup> when to end they have accomplished,	
	They iudge it fit to be relinquished.	
	ffrom whence the highest providence, oft tymes	
320	A myracle prodigious doth produce,	
	Y' wicked men, do make the wicked, good.	
	ffor when men seeme to beare indignities	
	By bad men offred, then inflam'd wth hate	
	Of such unhonest men, who them afflict,	
325	To vertue profitable they returne,	
	Because they study from them to dissent	
	Whom they do hate. ffor only divine power	
	Ys such yt it can evill turne to good.	

48 cause] inserted above with caret

<sup>49</sup> he] letter deleted after "e" MS

When as in fittest seasons usinge them Th'effect of some good, it doth picke therefrom. 330 ffor certaine order comp[re]hendeth all Y' what thinge shall in any sort decline From course assigned by Gods providence, Allthoughe the same to other course revolt Yet into order it constrayned is. 335 Lest in the kingdomes rule of providence Should any priviledge be left for chaunce. The strongest God throughout the world, all those Divers events to good end doth dispose, But unto man it is no lawfull thinge 340 By shallow witt either to comp[re]hend Or els in baren words to explicate Order and causes all of worke divine. / This only to behould let it suffice. Y' God who hath produced natures all, 345 Directinge all to good doth them dispose, And while the things weh he produced hath 47 ·[r] He doth endeavo[ur] to retaine in good Accordinge to his owne similitude, All evill from the lymits of his Realme 350 By fatall order he will extirpate: Whereby it is yt evills all, wch seeme In earth most to abound, if you respect Disposinge providence you shall perceive Nothing at all may anywhere seem ill. 355 But I you see allreadie weried Wth questions weight, and Arguments prolixe, Expect some ease by verses melodie. Whereof a tast receive, thy mynd to feede,

# Meter 6 · /

Whereby more stronge wee further may proceede.

With prudent mind if you would clearly see The reigiment of highest power divine, Attentively then do your eies incline To view the stately tops of heavens highe.

For in firme leaves we doth not flitting.

360

5

For in firme leauge, w<sup>ch</sup> doth not flittinge swerve, The starres their auncient harmony observe. 10

15

35

40

The blazinge beames of Phoebus bright as fire
Do never hinder th'orbe of Phoebe cold,
Nor Urse Maior whose swifte course doth hould
Bendinge about Pole Articke, doth desire
To dippe his flaminge light in Ocean deepe,
Though other starres, hee see, that course do keepe.

Bright eveninge Vessper orderly doth show
With equall space of tyme that night is neare:
And Lucifer doth bringe the morninge cleare,
So love by course alternally doth goe,
Revivinge endles courses mutually,
So discourd none doth harbour in the sky.

This concord equalizeth elements

In even balances, that contraries

As moist to dry thinges yeild by fitt degrees,

And cold with heate combin'd it selfe contents:

That mountinge fire ascendeth up on highe,

And massie earth discendinge low doth ly. /

[47 v]

25 By this concordinge harmony, in Springe
The yeare sweete flowers and fragrant smels doth yeild,
And schorchinge Sommer parcheth corne in feild,
Which Goddes Ceres first to use did bringe.
Autumnus doth returne with fruits increase,
The sturdy stormes in winter seldome cease.

This harmony most temporate doth nourishe
Producinge what in world do live and move:
By death againe it doth the same remove,
Bringinge to nothinge that which late did florish. /
Amongst these chaunges God on highe doth reigne,
Who guidinge reines of thinges dothe them containe. /

Remaininge Kinge and Lord, Fountaine and Springe, The lawe and prudent Iudge of causes right, Who doth revoke thinges movinge by his might, And doth to quiet rest their motions bringe. So that they cannot in their course endure, His grace unstable thinges makes to be sure. /

For now unles the souvereigne lord of all Revokinge should renewe the Worldes progression, And should theire orbes containe in due succession, Declininge things by wisedome to recall:

The thinges w<sup>th</sup> stable order now doth swaye, Dissolved from theire fountaine, would decay.

45

50

This God is unto all the common love,

And everie creature doth one thinge require,

To supreme goodnes end for to aspire.

For otherwise they cannot live or move,

Unlesse with pure love they returne againe

To sovereigne cause, who doth their state maintaine. /

#### Prose 7

P. Do you not now apparently behould What consequentlie may inferred be, From p[re]mises before, wherof wee spake? B. What followeth thence? P. That all fortunes events Undoubtedlie are good. B. How can yt be? 5 P. Knowe you, whereas all fortune sweete and sowre, 48·/[r] Partlie the godlie to remunerate, Or them to exercise imposed is. / And partlie for this end, yt wicked men Might punishment and due correction beare. 10 Every event of fortune good I deeme, W<sup>ch</sup> iust or profitable still doth seeme. / B. This is, I say a reason passing true. / And when I call to mynd Gods providence, Or fate, wherof you have discoursed late, 15 This sentence wth firme props supported stands. But if you please we may associate This sentence wth them whom you have before Alleadged, mans opinion to surmount. P. Wherefore? B. Because the com[m]on phrase of men 20 Doth oft inculcate this y' to some folke

Fortune is evill. P. Will you therefore Y' wee a litle while examine now These phrases of the vulgar sort of men? 25 Lest we to much from mans capacitie May seeme herein reclyninge to digresse. B. Do as you please. P. Do you not that esteeme Wch profiteth, to be good? B. Doubtles, yes. / P. Now yt wch either exerciseth man, Or doth correct is profitable. B. True. 30 P. Then is all fortune good, indeede. B. What els? P. But this is such mens fortune, who are sett In vertues fortresse, and do warre attempt Against adversities, or els from vice 35 Declininge, chose the path of vertues all. B. I can it not deny. P. What do you think Of fortune prosperous, wch in good men Is granted for a guerdon° or reward, Do common people iudge y' to be naught? 40 B. ffy no, but as it is, they iudge it good. P. What do the people thinke of all the rest W<sup>ch</sup> beinge sharpe w<sup>th</sup> rigor do restraine The wicked by deserved punishment, Do they the same esteeme for to be good? B. Of all things wch may be imagined, 45 The people iudge this miserable most. P. Marke then if wee the com[m]on peoples voyce Thus imytatinge, may not thence conclude That w<sup>ch</sup> surmounteth mans opinion. 50 B. What thinge is that? P. From former p[re]mises Graunted already it will follow right Y' all events of fortune resteth good, To such as vertue have, or growe therin Or vertues would atchive. But unto them Who in impietie abide, fortune is naught. / 55 B. This thinge is true, though none dare it confesse. / P. Why so a wise man ought not much to greive When he is urg'd wth fortune to contend, No more then it becomes a valiant man, Wth indignac[i]on to perplex his mynd, 60

[48 v]

When the Al-arme<sup>50</sup> doth sommon him to warre. ffor unto both<sup>51</sup> y<sup>t</sup> difficult turmoyle Then im[m]inent is cause materiall Unto the one to propagate his fame Unto the oth[er] wisdome to confirme. 65 And thereuppon vertue hath got her name, Because dependinge on her proper strength By nothinge opposit she is subdued. Nor you who placed are in vertues path 70 Cam to the world to wollow in delights, And to continue in yo[ur] pleasures vaine, But warre you wage wth fortune of all sorts. Wherefore lest fortune sorrowfull oppresse, Or pleasant fortune may yo[ur] mynds corrupt, Wth all yo[ur] strength embrace the goulden meane. 75 ffor whatsoever doth come short thereof Or els exceedeth it, unhappie is, And is wthout reward. ffor in yofur] selves It doth consist what fortune you will frame, For every thinge y' seemeth rigorous, 80 Good men doth exercise, or els correct, Or els it punisheth the wicked sect. /

## Metrum 7 ·

Kinge Agamemnon waginge ten yeares warre,
Troy did ruinate in Phrigia<sup>52</sup> farre:
Revenginge Paris wronges who had defiled
His brother Menelaus wife beguiled.
When he with Græcian fleete to saile did mynd,
With bloud he purchased a prosperous wind:
Castinge of love w<sup>th</sup> parents exercised,
He let the Preist his daughter sacrifice.
Ulisses did bewaile his losse of men
Whom Poliphemus fierce in hollow den
Lurkinge, in savage sort did ill entreate,

49 ·[r]

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> Al-arme] "u" deleted after "r" MS

<sup>51</sup> both] "o" deleted after "o" MS

<sup>52</sup> Phrigia] "h" inserted above with caret

Devouringe them in gredy paunche<sup>53</sup> for meate: Who sleapinge, yet Ulisses wth greife sad Thrust out that monsters eye with anger mad. 15 Wherby reveng'd on him he did restore Ioy to his heart, and eies that wept before. / Labours full difficult of Hercules Do celebrate his highe renowned praies, The Centaures proude in strength he did subdue. The Lions skine he stripped and him slue. 20 The Harpies wth his arrowes put to flight. The goulden apples he did take by might, Althoughe the Dragon did him then behould, Yet he did loade his hand with massie gould. Dogge Cerberus wth tripple cheine he drew. 25 The cruel Diomede he overthrewe, And gave him to his horses beinge deade, Which wonted were<sup>54</sup> with mans flesh to be fed. Revivinge monster Hydra feirce in ire By him was slaine, his venime burn'd with fire. 30 Achelous ashamèd for his disgrace Within his banckes hid his deformed face. / Antaeus,55 whom earth did to strength restore, Lifting from earth, he slue on Libian shore. 35 Fire-spittinge Cacus he did slay in feight, Whereby Evanders ire aswaged streight. Those shoulders stronge w<sup>ch</sup> skies waight should sustaine, Th'Arcadian Boare foaminge uppon, was slayne. / And this of Hercules was labour last, 40 In Atlas steede he bear the heavens vast. With necke not bowinge. So the skies he wonne, As guerdon° for the worke which he had done. / Ye valiant hartes with might march forward then, Folow these statelie steps of worthy men. Why do ye (base mindes),56 fainte, abhorringe paines? 45 Subdue earthes clogge, and skies shall be vo[ur] gaines.

53 paunch] "h" inserted above with caret

<sup>54</sup> were] "a" deleted after first "e" MS

Antaeus] Anthous MS
 mindes, MS

[49 v]

THE · PHYSICKE <sup>1</sup> · OF <sup>2</sup> · PHILOSOPHIE <sup>3</sup> · compiled by Anicius Manlius Torquatus Severinus Boethius, touching the consolation of Lady Philosophy in the <sup>4</sup> tyme of his exile · /

The fift booke wherin she resolveth him of certaine doubts arising from the consideration of Gods providence touching chaunce and fre-will. /

# Prose 1 .

These words she spake, and then of other things To treate and speake she turned her discourse. Then I thus said, yo[ur] exhortac[i]on Aptly is framed, and beseemeth best Yo[ur] grave authoritie. But I perceave 5 Y' true it is, wch you remembred late, Y' the deepe question of providence Intangled is wth many doubts profound. / ffor I demand whether determine you 10 Y' chaunce is any thinge? And what chaunce is? P. My debt late promised to pay, I hast, And unto thee the way to manyfest, Whereby to native soyle thou mayest repayre. / But these thy doubts, thoughe to be understood 15 They profitable are, yet they digresse A litle from the path of o[ur] intent. /

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> PHYSICKE] "C" inserted above with caret

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> OF] inserted above with caret

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> PHILOSOPHIE] PHILOSOPIE MS

<sup>4</sup> the] the deleted after the MS

And it is to be feared lest thy minde, In by-pathes intricate long weried, To find the right way hardlie will suffice. / B. That thinge you nothinge neede to feare at all. / 20 For calme contentments quiet ease it is For me to understand doubts difficult, Wherin my mynd conceiveth cheife delight. / And when<sup>5</sup> the body of yo[ur] disputac[i]on Shall wholely cleared from all doubts appeare: 25 Concerninge other things w<sup>ch</sup> may succede No questions difficult will thence arise. / P. To<sup>6</sup> thy<sup>7</sup> desire, said she, I condiscend. And therwthall to speake she thus began: Yf any man define chaunce in such sort 30 As if it were Event at randome done By headlonge mocsilon, rashly brought to passe Wthout all Causes certaine union, I then affirme nothinge is Chaunce at all. / And do esteeme it as a naked name, 35 Distinct from true signification Of subject matter wch we have in hand. / ffor what place can be left to rash event, Sith all things God doth wiselie keepe in frame. / 40 For true it is yt nothinge beinge hath From nothinge, wherto all antiquity Wth one consent ever subscrybed hath. / Yet this is not a fundamentall ground Includinge God the first creatinge cause: But to materiall subjects doth extend, 45 Namely to nature of created formes. / But if yt from no causes, any thinge Beginninge hath, it seemeth to aryse ffrom nothinge: and if yt cannot be done, 50 It is impossible yt there can bee Such Chaunce, as wee before defined late. / B. How then? Is nothinge to be rightlie cald

50 ·[r]

<sup>5</sup> when] inserted above with caret

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> To] erasure in MS over-written

<sup>7</sup> thy] letter deleted after "h" MS

By names of chaunce or fortunes casuall? Or is there any thinge, (allthough unknowne Unto the vulgar sort) whereto these names 55 Conveniently may serve for to expresse? P. My Aristotle in his physickes hath Both<sup>8</sup> breiflie, and accordinge to the truth This thinge defyned well. B. I pray you how? P. Whenas a thinge is undertaken for 60 Som certaine end, if yt another thinge Then was intended haply come to passe Uppon occasion of some other cause: Y' same Event is nominated Chaunce. / As if a man intendinge to manure 65 His field, and for yt end digginge the ground Shall find a masse of gould, then such event Is thought to fall out by Chaunce casuall. / Yet notwthstandinge this doth not befall From nothinge, but his proper causes hath, 70 W<sup>ch</sup> then concurringe by a sodaine hap, And unexpected, seemes to make the Chaunce. / ffor if the Tyller had not dig'd10 the ground Or if the owner, had not in yt place His money hid, the gould had not ben found. / 75 Then these are causes of such sodaine chaunce, When any thinge produced comes to passe From meetinge causes, wch do all concurre Wthout the doers expectation, Or the intention wherat he did ayme. / 80 For neither yt man who had hid the gould Nor he yt did the ground manure, did meane Or in his thoughts intend the mony should Be found, but as I said, what th'one had hid, It did concurre, and haplie came to passe, 85 The other should there dig where it was lay'd. Therfore wee may define Chaunce properly To be, an unexpected workes event

[50 v]

10 dig'd] digd MS

<sup>8</sup> Both] "o" deleted after "o" MS

<sup>9</sup> well] inserted above with caret

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Procedinge from encountringe causes force,

In such things as for other ends are meant. /

But divine order w<sup>ch</sup> doth still proceede

W<sup>th</sup> an inevitable causes lincke,

Discendinge from fountaine of providence,

W<sup>ch</sup> doth in place and tyme, dispose all things,

Causes so to concurre to-gether brings. /

#### Meter 1 .

The river Tygres and Euphrates rise
From one Springe, in the craggie Parthian hills,
Where castinge backward darts the souldier flies,
Where with pursuinge enymies he kils. /
This Springe devided streight two chanels fils,
Whose streames if afterwards they meete, such thinge
Must also meete, w<sup>b</sup> both<sup>11</sup> those rivers bringe

As shipps must needes concurre, and stemmes of trees. /
And though such things do seeme by chaunce to flowe,
Yet rivers banckes guidinge them, maketh these
To passe alonge what way the streames do go:
And doth direct them in the current lowe. /
So chaunce, w<sup>th</sup> seemes to float without all reines,
Is curbed, whom the lawe of fate restraines. /

## Prose 2 · /

51·/[r]

B: These things I well observinge understand And to yo[ur] speeches I yeild my assent. But in this firme united causes cheine Is there no libertie of mans freewill? Or doth this fatall linke of providence The moc[i]ons of all humanine mynds restreine? P. There is freewill, nor reason naturall In any creature hath been ever knowne, But they have had the libertie of will. ffor what thinge naturally reason hath, The same hath iudgment whereby, every thinge It may, accordinge as it is, discerne.

<sup>11</sup> both] "o" deleted after "o" MS

Wherfore what thinge is meete to be eschew'd,
And what is to be wished it doth knowe.

And what a man doth judge to be desyred.

15 And what a man doth iudge to be desyred,
He doth require. But he doth yt eschewe
Which he thinks fit to be abandoned.
Then in all those in whom doth reason rest
Freedome to will and nill is in their mynds.

20 But y<sup>t</sup> this freedome equall is to all
I do not here affirme for essences
W<sup>ch</sup> are celestiall, and divine, have
Iudgment more sound, and will more incorrupt,
Also abilitie effectuall, ~ ~

They have to execute what they desire.

And soules of men must needs be farr more free
When they in contemplac[i]on of Gods will
Continue firme, and they are not so free
When they decline unto the bodies base.

And yet lesse free they are when passions vayne
Do bynd their acc[i]ons w<sup>th</sup> an earthlie cheine,
But extreame slavery of soules it is,
When as addicted unto vices foule
They fall away from firme possession

of understandinge proper unto men. /

ffor after y<sup>t</sup> theire eyes they shall divert

From beames of perfect truth y<sup>t</sup> mounts on highe,

To gaze on things belowe obscure and darke,

Streightway w<sup>th</sup> mistie clouds of ignorance

They blinded are, and w<sup>th</sup> affections
Pernicious, disturbed they turmoyle.
Whereto when they approach, and give consent,
Their slavish servitude they do augment:
Wherein them selves they have<sup>12</sup> enwrapped fast,

And in some sort them selves do captivate,
And proper libertie do ruinate.

W<sup>ch</sup> things neverthelesse the sight divine
Of providence, from all eternity
Behouldinge, all events doth clearely see,

50 And doth dispose all things p[re]destinate,

[51 v]

<sup>12</sup> have] inserted above with caret

5

5

10

Accordinge to their merrits severall. He superviseth all, and heareth all. 13

Meter 2 ·

Homer w<sup>th</sup> eloquences streames
Which from him flow mellifluous,
In verse depainteth Phœbus beames
Brightly displayd perspicuous,
Howbeit Sunne is not of might,
Into earthes depth to peirce w<sup>th</sup> light,
The depth of Sea doth passe his sight,
Obscured inconspicuous.

In worldes Creator doth consist

More bright beames, for he vieweth all.

No masse of earth can him resist,

No gloumy night so darke can fall,

But in one act his eye of mynd

What is, was, or shall be doth finde.

Then viewinge sole all thinges in kind,

Sole Sunne we may God truly call.

Prose 3 ·

[B.] Se now I am wth ambiguity
More difficult ensnared then before. /
P. What ambiguity? But where wth all
Yo[ur] mynd purplexed standeth I do gesse. /
B. That God foreknoweth all things and events
Directly seemeth for to contradict
And quite repugneth freewills libertie. /
For if all things, Gods wisdome doth foresee,
And by no meanes can be deceaved, then
Ythinge must necessarilie fall out
Wth providence foresawe to come to passe. /
Wherefore if God from all eternitie
Not only doth fore-knowe mens actions:
But also knowes theire consultac[i]ons,

52·/[r]

<sup>13</sup> ll. 51-2: indentation omitted in MS

And inclinac[i]ons of their harts desire. 15 Then shall there be no freedome of the will. / ffor neither can be any other fact Attempted, or another will can stand, But such alone as divine providence, Wch cannot be deceaved, did fore-knowe. 20 ffor if Events of things could otherwise Be wrested, then they are by God fore-seene, Then prescience of future things Events Fixed im[m]utable there should not be, But rather an opinion waveringe, 25 Wch thinge of God once to imagine, were Abominable wickednes, I judge. / Neither can I such sophistrie approve Wherby this questions knott some do believe 30 May be dissolved, for they this affirme: Event of things doth not succeede therefore Because Gods providence fore-sawe the same Should be effected. But contrarywise Rather, because the thinge should take effect Therfore Gods providence cannot thereof 35 Be ignorant. But if the case<sup>14</sup> were so, This needs declineth to the adverse part. For so necessity there should not be Y' things foresene should therefore take effect, But a necessitie should be inferr'd 40 Y' future thinges Events should be fore-seene. / As thoughe the question were what is the cause Of both these things: wheth[er] Gods prescience Do cause necessitie to future things, [52 v] Or future things doe cause Gods prescience. / 45 But wee endevolurl to make manifest Yt howsoever causes order stand. Th'event of things fore-knowne must needs succeede, / Allthoughe Gods prescience to future events Seeme not necessitie for to inferre. / 50 ffor if a man do sitt, th'opinion

14 case] "u" deleted after "a" MS

W<sup>ch</sup> iudgeth him to sitt is certaine true. /

Contrarywise if the opinion Touchinge a man yt he doth sitt, be true: 55 It cannot be but such man then doth sitt. / Then in them both 15 necessitie remaines. Necessity to sitt is in the one, Necessity of truth is in the other. But yet a man doth not for this cause sitt, 60 Because the iudgement yt he sitts is true, But rather such opinion standeth true, Because it chaunced that the man did sitt. And so allthoughe the cause of truth hereof. Proceedeth only from one part of these, 65 Yet notwthstandinge in both parts there is Common necessitie. And in like sort Concerninge providence, and future things, It is most evident wee may dispute, ffor thoughe, because Events will come to passe 70 Gods providence doth therefore them foresee And not because such things were seene before Therefore they come to passe. Nevertheles Necessity there is yt things to come Should be by God foreseene, and that such things 75 As are fore-seene should likewise take effect. / W<sup>ch</sup> thinge alone sufficeth to destroy The doctrine of the liberty of will. / Now how p[re]posterous a thinge is this Y' the Event of temporall affaires 80 Should be imagined to be the cause Of Gods foreknowledge wch eternall is, What is it els to thinke, yt therefore God Fore-seeth future things, because they are To come to passe, then to imagine that 85 Events wch heretofore were brought to end Were cause of Gods highe providence divine. / Moreover even as, when I do knowe A thinge to be, the same thinge beinge hath So when I knowe a thinge shall come to passe 90 The same thinge of necessitie shall come:

53·/[r]

<sup>15</sup> both] "o" deleted after "o" MS

So then it followeth by consequent Non can avoyd fore-knowne things accident. / Lastlie if any man a thinge esteeme For to be otherwise then the thing is, The same not only is no knowledge sound 95 But is deceiveable opinion false, From truth of knowledge far distinguished. / Then if a thinge be so to come to passe As the Event therof uncertaine stands. Nor necessarily doth take effect: 100 How can such thinge be manifestlie knowne Before it come yt it shall sure succeede? ffor as firme knowledge is not wth falshood Mixed at all, so yt wch is thereby Once app[re]hended cannot otherwise 105 Remaine, then as it app[re]hended is. / ffor this the reason is why knowledge sound Hath no untruth therin, because necessitie Ther is, y' every thinge should so consist 110 As knowledge comp[re]hendeth it to stand. What then? How can God things to come fore-knowe Wch are uncertaine? For if he account Y' such Events will come assuredlie. Wherof is possibilitie not to come: 115 He is therin deceaved, we'h to thinke Not only is profane, but once to speake. / But if, as things are, God do them behould That they shall even so be brought to passe So as he knowe yt it is possible 120 Such things may take effect, or no effect: What p[re]science16 were this, wch doth conceive No certainetie, nor firme stability? Or what would such fore-knowledg disagree From speach propheticall ridiculous<sup>17</sup> 125 [53 v] Of ould Tyresias? What-so-ever I

Shall speake will eyther come to passe, or not. / Yea, what would divine providence exceede

16 p[re]science] "r" inserted above

<sup>17</sup> ridiculous] "o" inserted above with caret

	Humaine opinion, if, as men, God iudge
	Such things to be uncertaine, whose Event
130	Uncertaine stands? But if nothinge can be
	Wth yt most certaine fountaine of all things
	Uncertaine: then the <i>Event</i> of things is sure
	W <sup>ch</sup> he fore-knew im[m]utably to come.
	Wherfore no libertie at all ther is
135	In humaine counsells, or mans actions
133	W <sup>ch</sup> divine Intellect behouldinge all
	At once, w <sup>th</sup> out <i>erroneous</i> falsity,
	To one <i>Event</i> , doth firme constreine and ty. /
	To w <sup>ch</sup> thinge if wee once shall condescend
140	There will greate inconvenience arise
140	In humaine thinges. For then in vaine wee should
	Rewards to Godly men, or punishments
	Unto the wicked sort propound. W <sup>ch</sup> things
	No free and voluntary moc[i]on
145	
143	Of their mynds hath deserved to receave. /
	And of all things yt should seeme most uniust
	W <sup>ch</sup> now is iudged to be equall most.
	Namely y' bad men should be punished,
150	Or yt good men should a reward receive.
150	Whom not their proper will enforced hath
	To good or evill, but necessitie
	Of future things fixed, compelled them. /
	Neith[er] should vices then be any thinge,
4.5.5	Nor vertues any thinge, but rather then
155	A mixt and indiscreete confusion
	Of all deserts of man would here ensue. /
	And nothinge may more vile surmised be
	Yf order all of things from providence
	Derived should succeede, and no free-will
160	Were in mans consultac[i]ons and attempts. /
	So should it come to passe y' vices all
	W <sup>ch</sup> wee com[m]it may be attributed
	To God, who is the Author of all good.
	Also therby no reason would appeare
165	To hope, or pray for any thinge we want
	For what can any man hope, or desire,
	When fatall order irrevocable

Uniteth firme all things weh man may have. / Then yt only associations league, W<sup>ch</sup> is betwen men, and God should surcease 170 Namely to hope for good, and to entreat Of God to keepe man from ill accidents. For by the price of prayers humblenes Reward inestimable of Gods grace Wee do obtaine. Wch is the only meane 175 Wherby men may be thought wth God to talke.18 And to yt light wherto no man can come Before by prayers supplication He do obtaine the same, he may aspire. / W<sup>ch</sup> prayers if they seeme to have no force, 180 By grauntinge of necessitie of things,

By grauntinge of necessitie of things,

W<sup>ch</sup> are to come, what meanes then [do]<sup>19</sup> we have

Whereby we may be lincked and adheare

Unto the supreame Governour of all?<sup>20</sup>

185 Whereby mankinde, as you before did say,
Disiogned from his fountaine would decay. /

## Meter 3 ·

What cause discordinge parteth concords cheine?
What God hath set such warres betwene<sup>21</sup> truthes two,
That those w<sup>ch</sup> truth distinct do both containe
Togeth[er]<sup>22</sup> ioyned seeme not so to doe?
Betwene<sup>23</sup> true thinges can there no discord be?
And do all truthes w<sup>th</sup>in them selves agree?

Mans mynd oppressed w<sup>th</sup> his members blinde Which do the knowledge of the soule bereave, Coniunctions secreat cannot aptly finde, Nor can the reason of hard thinges conceave.

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<sup>18</sup> talke] "l" inserted above with caret

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> [do]] emendation to complete the intended question [Latin: . . . quid erit quo summo illi rerum principi conecti atque adhaerere possimus?]

<sup>20</sup> all?] all. MS

<sup>21</sup> betwene] "e" inserted above with caret after "n"

<sup>22</sup> Togeth[er]] "r" inserted above with caret

<sup>23</sup> Betwene] "e" inserted above with caret after "n"

15

Why then do men<sup>24</sup> so ardently desire Unto concealed knowledge to aspire?

Doth doubtfull minde perceive what it would knowe?

But who will strive to knowe thinges manifest?

But if he knowe it not, why seekes he so

The thinge, whereof he ignorant doth rest?

Unknowne thinges who can seeke? Where<sup>25</sup> shall he finde?

Or beinge founde, who knowes formes beinge blinde? [54 v]

When soule beheld the thoughts of God most deepe,
Thinges generall and speciall then were knowne:
But since darke bodies cloudy<sup>26</sup> did her keepe,
Her knowledge wholely is not overthrowne.
For still she houldeth knowledge generall,
But hath forgotten much in speciall.

25 Therfore whoso would knowe the veritie,
Mans soule here neither understandeth all:
Nor ignorant doth altogether ly,
But doth remember matters generall,
Which she retaininge, striveth more and more
30 That to the whole she may, lost parts restore. /

#### Prose 4 .

P. This questions doubt concerning providence
In auncient tymes hath caused much adoe
And Marcus Tullius in his distribuc[i]on
Of divination hath wth all his force

5 Sifted this thinge, and of yo[ur] selfe the same
Hath very longe and much ben searched for.
But in no sort by any one of you
This hath wth diligence sufficient,
And soundnes ben decyded hitherto,

Of whose obscurity this is the cause,
Ythe discourse of humaine intellect

<sup>24</sup> men] man MS

<sup>25</sup> where] were MS

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> cloudy] inserted above with caret

To puritie of divine prescience Unable is to mount or penetrate, W<sup>ch</sup> if it could by thought be compassed, No ambiguitie would therein rest. 15 Wch now at last to open and unfould I will attempt but first I meane to prove Those doubts w<sup>ch</sup> you have moved, to remove. ffor first I do demand, why you do thinke Their reason unsufficient who say thus? 20 That for so much as divine prescience Necessitie to future things to cause They do not judge, then neither can they thinke Y' prescience doth hinder mans free-will: For do you frame yo[ur] former arguments 25 To prove necessity of future things, From any other principle, but this: Y' such things as are understood before, / 55 [r] They cannot alter, but must come to passe? 30 ffor if fore-knowledge be not any cause Of the necessitie of things to come, W<sup>ch</sup> thinge before yo[ur] selfe confessed late, Why then shall voluntary things event Unto a certaine end constrayned be. ffor to the end you may well understand 35 What consequents arise, let us put case° There were no such fore-knowledge should things then W<sup>ch</sup> from the will proceede, in this respect Unto necessitie be subject? B: No. 40 P. Againe, let us Gods prescience affirme, But such as causeth no necessitie Unto the course of things, the liberty Of will remayneth sound and absolute No lesse then it before remayn'd, I thinke. / But you will answere, althoughe prescience 45 Cause not necessitie to future things, Yet notwthstandinge it doth rest a signe Y' necessarilie things shall be done, But so allthough free-knowledge had not been, Th'event of things to come would seeme to be 50 Effected necessarily likewise. /

For every signe doth only manyfest And shewe the thinge whereof it is a signe, But not effect what it doth represent. / Then this thinge first should demonstrated be 55 Y' all things by necessitie fall out. Y' so it may appeare foreknowledge is A signe<sup>27</sup> of such necessitie of things. / For otherwise if there be no such thinge, The other cannot be a signe of that 60 Wch is not any thinge. / But it is plaine, Yt demonstrac[i]on wch supported stands By reason firme, is not to be deryved From naked28 signes, neith[er] from Arguments 65 Externally deduced but it is To be produced from convenient And necessary causes evidence. But how can it avoyded be, you say, Yt those things wch Gods prescience fore-sawe 70 Would come to passe, should not so take effect? Allthoughe wee hould what providence foresawe Would come to passe should not accordingly Effected be, and do not rather thinke, Yt thoughe they take effect, neverthelesse 75 In their owne nature, no necessity Yt they should so be brought to end ther was. W<sup>ch</sup> you hereby may easily observe. We, many things objected to o[ur] eies While as they are adoinge, do behould. As yt wch Coachman are beheld to do, 80 In guidinge and in turninge of their Coach. And such like voluntary acc[i]ons: Doth then necessity at all constraine Any such act to be effected?<sup>29</sup> B. No. / For vaine it were to use the helpe of art, 85 Yf all should, by compulsion, moved be. / P. Then those events, wch when men them attempt

[55 v]

<sup>27</sup> signe] "h" deleted after "g" MS

<sup>28</sup> naked] word deleted with naked inserted above with caret

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> effected] some letters over-written

Have no necessity, to come to passe: The same things are wthout necessitie To take effect, before they come to passe. 90 Then certaine things to take effect there be Whose end from all necessitie is free. / And this I thinke no man will hence inferre Yt those things wch allready take effect Were not to come to passe before they came. 95 Wherefore the things fore-knowne have free Events. ffor as the knowledge of things p[re]sent cause No necessary act, so to foreknowe Events to come doth no necessity Inferre to things yt are to come to passe. / 100 But you alledge this questionable rests Whether ther can be any prescience Of such things weh contingent do remayne. For these two things do seeme to disagree, And you suppose if things be knowne before, 105 They must succeede of mere necessity. Yf no necessitie there were thereof, They could not be by any means fore-knowne. 56<sup>1</sup>/[r] And you thinke nothinge but a certainty 110 Can comp[re]hended be by prescience. And if the thinge whose ends uncertaine stand Be so fore-sene as if they certaine were, You iudge that were a doubt<sup>30</sup> ambiguous, Distinct from verity of knowledge firme. ffor otherwise to make account of things 115 Then things in nature are[,] you do believe[,] Farr from integrety of knowledge swerves. The reason of wch error is, because All things weh any man doth app[re]hend He demeth yt such things are understood 120 Only by force and nature of the things W<sup>ch</sup> he doth knowe, w<sup>ch</sup> wholely is untrue. / ffor every thinge w<sup>ch</sup> knowledge doth conceive Is not so<sup>31</sup> app[re]hended as it is,

<sup>30</sup> a doubt] a doubt deleted after a doubt MS

<sup>31</sup> so] inserted above with caret

125	Accordinge to the nature of it selfe:
	But is accordinge to the faculty
	Of them who knowe the same, rather perceav'd.
	As by this short example may appeare,
	The sight, and touchinge, do in severall sort
130	The selfe same roundnes of a body knowe.
	The one farre of doth viewe the body whole,
	Castinge his beames of sight at once thereon.
	The oth[er] doth the roundnes app[re]hend
	By partes therof, when it approacheth neare,
135	Coheringe and environinge the same.
	The sences also do a man p[er]ceive
	After one sort, Imagination
	After another sort, Reason also
	After anoth[er] manner doth him see.
140	And divine Intellect doth otherwise behould.
	For sence externall doth the shape decerne
	As it in subject matter doth consist.
	The Phantasies imagination
	Sole shape abstract from matter doth behould.
145	Reason surmounteth this, consideringe
	In universall sort the species
	W <sup>ch</sup> is in men perticuler beheld.
	But eye of Intellect mounteth more highe
	Above the bounds of universall things,
150	And doth behould wth purest sight of mynd,
	The verie formes simplicity in man. /
	Wherin this cheifely may be pondered
	Yt the superiour meanes of app[re]hension
	Doth the inferio[ur] in it comp[re]hend
155	But the inferio[ur] cannot any way
	Arise to comp[re]hend the higher meanes.
	For outward senses cannot any thinge
	Wthout a subject matter, app[re]hend,
	Neith[er] Imagination doth perceive
160	The universall species of things.
	Nor Reason can a simple forme conceive,
	But divine knowledge viewinge from above,
	Not only doth the forme internall, see,
	But also whatsoever in the same

[56 v]

165 Contayned is, doth fully comp[re]hend.
So as y' forme, wch by no meanes besides
Can be perceived, it doth understand. /
For both the Reasons knowledge generall,
The figure of imagination,

170 And<sup>32</sup> matter sensible it doth conceive,
Not usinge *Reasons* helpe, or *phantasie*,
Or outward *sense*, but (as a man would say)
All things, behouldinge formally at once,
In one instant perceivinge of the mind

175 And *Reason* also, when it doth respect
A universall thinge, doth neither use
Helpe of the *Phantasie*, or other sense,
Yet all imaginable things doth knowe.
And things objected to the outward sence,

180 For it is reason w<sup>ch</sup> in gen[er]all
Defineth things in the discourse conceiv'd,
As thus: Man is a livinge thinge, w<sup>ch</sup> hath
Only two<sup>33</sup> feete, [and]<sup>34</sup> reasons use w<sup>th</sup>all.
W<sup>ch</sup> definition, though it manifest

185 A univ[er]sal notion, to the mynd
Yet non is ignorant, yt this doth showe
And comp[re]hend a thinge imaginable,
And sensible wth reason doth not viewe,
By benefit of phantasie, or sense,

190 But only by conceivinge rationall.

Also the *phantasie* althoughe from the *sense*Of *sight*, *she* tooke begininge, shapes to frame
Neverthelesse w<sup>th</sup>out the helpe of *sense*It doth all matters sensible behould,

195 Not in a sensible respect of *sight*,

But in imaginary sort, therof

Iudginge,<sup>35</sup> and app[re]hendinge what it is.

Then do you not hence plainely understand

Y<sup>t</sup> in perceivinge, all things rather use

57 ·[r]

<sup>32</sup> And] nd inserted above with caret

<sup>33</sup> two] tow MS

<sup>34 [</sup>and]] ampersand MS

<sup>35</sup> Iudging] "g" inserted above with caret after "d"

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Their proper faculty, then of such things

W<sup>ch</sup> are perceived. And not w<sup>th</sup>out iust cause:

ffor wheras every iudgment is the act

Of him y<sup>t</sup> iudgeth, it behoveth then

That he should iudge not by externall sight,

But should his worke effect by proper might. /

Meter 4 ·

Ould Stoickes in their sentences obscure
Maintained that representations
Of things imprinted on mans mynd endure
Infixing stronge imaginations:
Like as w<sup>th</sup> pen men write in paper cleane,
Which did before no letters shape containe.

But if the agent soule nothinge expresse
By inward motion, but doth patient ly,
Subject to shapes w<sup>ch</sup> outward thinges impresse,
As glasse returneth images to eye,
From whence doth come such knowledge to the mynd,
Whose sight surveieth all thinges in their kind?

What facultie could then peirce into all?
What faculty things compound could divide?
Or parted thinges to one head could recall?
Sometimes both waies thinges lofty to decide,
Sometimes in speciall to descend belowe,
Discoursinge till error by truth she showe?

[57 v]

- This mind is far more mightie cause then such
  As like materiall thinges, impressions bide:
  Yet passive force precedent stirreth much,
  And oft mans mind doth unto actions guide.
  Namely when light doth penetrate the eye:
  Or when a voice in eare doth soundinge cry.
- Then stirreth up the action of the mynd, Recallinge species w<sup>ch</sup> she first conceived, Like motions framinge, w<sup>ch</sup> she doth in kind Apply to outwarde shapes w<sup>ch</sup> she perceived.

Which thinges externall she most aptly mixeth To inward formes, w<sup>ch</sup> she w<sup>th</sup>in her fixeth.

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#### Prose 5

Now if in bodies app[re]hension,
Allthoughe objected outward qualities
Do penetrate the instruments of sense,
And thoughe the bodies passion doe p[re]vent
The vigor of the agent mynd, w<sup>ch</sup> may
Provoke the action inward of the mind
And so may stirr internall restinge formes,
I say in bodies app[re]hension
Yf that the mind be not w<sup>th</sup> passion stirr'd,
But by his proper facultie do iudge

10 But by his proper facultie do iudge
The subject passive bodies moc[i]on:
Then how much more Intelligences free
Exempted from all bodies, passions,
In app[re]hension do not imitate

15 Externall objects, but do exercise
The only action of internall mynd?
Then in this manner knowledge manifould
To distinct natures diversely pertaines:
ffor unto livinge thinges w<sup>ch</sup> do not move

20 From place to place (as shell-fish in the sea And oth[er] livinge Creatures w<sup>ch</sup> to rockes Cleaving are nourished) only a sense Voyd of all other knowledge doth belonge. / Imagination doth pertaine to beasts

25 Which move from place to place, in whom to flee, And covet things, affections do appeare.

Reason to mankind sole doth appertaine
And sole intelligence to things divine. /

From whence it followeth yt such notion

All other knowledge doth surmount and passe, W<sup>ch</sup> by a naturall instinct doth knowe
Not o[n]ly<sup>36</sup> what is proper thereunto,
But understandeth subjects of the rest. /
What then if sense and phantasie contend

58·/[r]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> o[n]ly] "n" indicated above as abbreviation

- Wth the discourse of reason, and should say
  That the thing generall wth reason doth
  Suppose to understand is nought at all:
  For that thinge wth is by the sense perceived
  Or by imagination cannot be
  A universall, but a special thinge.
- A univ[er]sall, but a speciall thinge,
  Then reasons iudgment eyther standeth true
  That nothinge should be sensible, or els
  Because she knoweth many things to be
  Subject to senses, and imagination,
- 45 Reasons conceiving should be merely falsh W<sup>ch</sup> taketh y<sup>t</sup> to be a generall thinge W<sup>ch</sup> is but sensible, and singuler.

  To w<sup>ch</sup> things if that reason should reply Contrarywise that shee doth understand
- Imaginable things and sensible
  After a univ[er]sall sight of mynd,
  And y<sup>t</sup> sense and imagination,
  To universall knowledge of things generall
  Cannot aspire, because their notion
- 55 Excedeth not the figures corporall,
  And that in understandinge of hard things
  It is the safest way to credit them
  Whose iudgment is more firme and absolute.
  Now in such strife betwen reason and sense,
- 60 Would not all wee (in whom the faculty As well of reason, as of phantasie
  And outward sense inheareth) countenance
  Rather the cause of reason, then of sense.
  Alyke it is, yt humaine reason thinks
- That divine knowledge cannot future things
  Further behould then reason can perceive. /
  ffor thus by reason, you disputed late:
  Yf any things seeme not to have Events
  Certaine and necessary, then such things
- To happen cannot firmely be fore-known.

  Then of such things can be noe prescience.

  W<sup>ch</sup> knowledge if wee also should beleive
  In casuall things to be, then everythinge
  Should from necessity be brought to passe.

[58 v]

75 Yf then, as wee do reasons use enioy,
So might wee be partakers of Gods mind.
Like as wee iudge imagination
And sense, to reason ought to render place,
So would wee likewise iudge it iustest course

Y' humaine reason should it selfe submit
Unto the divine notion of Gods mind. /
Wherefore so much as possibly wee can
Let us erect o[ur] selves unto the toppe
Of y' most highe intelligence in God.

85 ffor there shall reason see, what in it selfe
It cannot comp[re]hend, that is to say
How Gods fore-knowledge, sure, and definite,
Behouldeth things whose end uncertaine seemes
Neither is that opinion waveringe.

90

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But is the purity of knowledge highe
Of God, w<sup>ch</sup> cannot comp[re]hended be. /

#### Meter 5 ·

How do the beasts, in a showe verie strangly repugninge, on earth go? Some forowinge body thrust al alonge seely° crepinge upon dust, Some fly about soaringe verie highe, and mount wth a swift winge, Some other only to stand do delight with a foote to the firme land. Some to the feildes merie move, desolate some only the woods love. Albeit in varyinge37 figure all these keepe their abidinge, Yet grovelinge hevie face to them all procureth a disgrace. Only the man elevateth aloft hautie head wth a greate state, Whose body mounted aright contemneth basenes of earthes sight. This figure admonisheth man in whom wary wisedome inhereth, That sith alone to the skies bodie thine is erected in apt wyse, Thou, wth a mind elevated on highe to the skies, be erected,

Least that alone body mounted aloft, thy minde be deiected.

# Prose 6

Wherfore because (as it is sayd before) What thinge so ever may be understood Cannot by nature of it selfe be knowne: 59·/[r]

<sup>37</sup> varyinge] word over-written in bold

But as the nature of 38 them who do know

Doth comp[re]hend, let us now undertake
(So far as lawfull is for us) to viewe
What is the state of Gods essence divine,
That what his knowledge is wee may perceive. /
That God eternall is[,] it is agreed

10 Amongst all them who reasonable are.

Then let us see what is eternitie,

For y<sup>t</sup> will unto us most plainely showe

Both what his nature and his knowledge is. /

Eternitie is whole possession

15 And perfect state of life whout an end.

Whom we may more plaine appeare, if we compare Therewth things temporall. If or what in tyme Doth live, it beinge p[re]sent doth proceede From things forepassed unto things to come,

And nothinge is in tyme established

W<sup>ch</sup> can at once together comp[re]hend

The entyre space of his continuinge,

But to the morow hath not yet attayn'd,

And hath already lost the tyme forespent.

And truly in the p[re]sent tyme ye live
No longer then in that moment of tyme
W<sup>ch</sup> moveable and transitory stands.
Then what so hath succession of tyme,
Allthough the same (as *Aristotle* sayd<sup>39</sup>

Oncerninge the contynuance of the world Never bagan, nor never shall have end.

And thoughe the tyme thereof extended were Wth infinite continuance of tyme:

Yet is it not a thinge wth may be thought

To be eternall, for it comp[re]hends

Not all at once, allthough the space thereof

Were infinit, for it wanteth yet

The future tymes, w<sup>ch</sup> are not yet transact. /

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> it selfe be knowne: / But as the nature of] inserted above with caret after by nature of <sup>39</sup> sayd] sayd) MS (a redundant parenthesis emended out)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> contynuance] altered from countynance ("u" after "o" deleted with second "u" inserted above with caret after second "n")

Then that wch comp[re]hendeth in one act And doth possesse the fullnes all at once 40 Of life interminable, whereunto [59 v] No tyme to come is absent, or tyme past Is vanished, may worthely be sayd To be eternal and most requisit It is, yt p[re]sent things should him assist 45 And yt he should have the infinity Of tymes progression to be p[re]sent still, From whence some men concluded have amisse Who when they heare yt Plato did suppose, This world had no beginnings tyme at all, 50 Nor should at any tyme be brought to end. They thinke hereby the world weh God hath made Wth the Creator coeternal were For it is one thinge to be governed Wth life interminables motion. 55 Wch Plato did unto the world ascribe: Anoth[er] thinge it is to comp[re]hend The p[re]sence of interminable life In one act, w<sup>ch</sup> is manifestly knowne To be the property of divine mind. / 60 Neith[er] ought God to seeme more auncient Then creatures, by the quantitie of tyme, But rath[er] in respect of property Of his simplicity of nature pure. / 65 ffor moc[i]on infinyte of things in tyme Doth imytate Gods presentary state Of life eternal and im[m]ovable, W<sup>ch</sup> when it cannot equalize or match, It fayleth of im[m]utabilytie, And doth decrease from the simplicity 70 Of Gods Al-presence, into quantity Wch is successively made infinit Respectinge future and fore-passed tymes. / And when it cannot altogith[er] have 75 At once the fulnes of the life of God. Yet herein sith it ceasseth not to be But in one forme or oth[er] doth abide, It seemeth in some sort to im[m]ytate

Y' wch it cannot compasse and fulfill. Bindinge it selfe to p[re]sence in some sorte 80 Of this small transitory pointe of tyme, [60 r] Wch for so much as it doth rep[re]sent Certaine simylytude of Gods presence Wch doth eternally fixed remaine, It doth performe to them who have such state 85 Y' they to have a<sup>41</sup> beinge may appeare. But for so much as it could not persist It tooke the infinit pathway of them, Wherby it comes to passe it doth prolonge The life procedinge by succession, 90 Whose plenitude it could not comp[re]hend By stable permanence im[m]ovable. Then if we (followinge Plato) would impose Convenient names to things, wee may affirme Y' God eternall is, and y' the world 95 Perpetually doth move. Then for as much As every iudgment comp[re]hendeth things Wch therto subject are, accordinge to The nature of the thinge wch doth perceive And sith eternall and All-present state 100 In Gods pure nature allwaies doth consist His knowledge then, weh doth tymes moc[i]on Exceede, remayneth in the singlenes Of his owne p[re]sence, and doth comp[re]hend 105 The spaces infinit of tyme forepast, And tyme to come, and understandeth all In the simplicitie of knowledge his, As though they were now done in p[re]sent tyme. Wherfore if you Gods prescience perpend,° By wch he understandeth everythinge: 110 You will not call it prescience of things, Wch are to come, but rather estimate The same to be, an instant knowledge firme W<sup>ch</sup> never fadeth, nor doth passe away. / ffrom whence it is not called previdence, 115 But rath[er] providence of God: because

<sup>41</sup> al inserted above with caret

It beinge farre remote from lowest things, Behouldeth all from highest toppe of all. Why then do you require that future things Should of necessitie be brought to passe? 120 Because they be in Gods sight manifest? [60 v] For men cause not necessity to things Wch they behould: for what you p[re]sent see Doth yo[ur] sight add thereto necessity? 125 B. No, in no sort. P. But if comparison May worthely be made, betwen Gods sight Of p[re]sent things, and sight of mortall man As you see things in p[re]sent temporall So he behouldeth all by endles sight. Then this divine fore-knowledge chaungeth not 130 The nature and the propertie of things, But doth them see so present in his sight As they in tyme to come shall still proceede. / Neither<sup>42</sup> doth he things iudgement so confound 135 But in one instant sight of mind divine Both necessary, and contingent things Wch are to come he doth discerning knowe: Like as when you in one instant behould A man to walke on earth, and sunne in skie 140 To ryse, although you both at once behould, Yet you distinguish them, and do esteeme The one to be a voluntary act, The oth[er] necessarylie to come. / So then the sight of God behoulding all 145 Doth not the quality of things disturbe, Wch things are p[re]sent in respect of him, But in respect of tymes succession They are to come in seasons severall. Whereby it followeth by consequent 150 Y' this is not Gods bare opinion, But knowledge grounded on undoubted truth When as he knoweth any thinge shall be, He cannot be therof, yt it doth want

Necessity of beinge, ignorant.

<sup>42</sup> Neither] Nether MS

Here, if you say, the thinge wch God doth see 155 Shall come to passe, cannot but have event, And yt wch cannot chuse but take effect Y' falleth out of meere necessity, And if you urge me to this verie word 160 Necessitie, I will acknowledge then A thinge wch doth most solid truth containe, [61 r]And hardlie any man will yeild therto Consent, or can the same attaine to knowe, But he that doth Gods essence contemplate. 165 For I will answere thus, the thinge to come When you Gods divine knowledge do respect, Is necessarilie to take effect: But when the same thinge is considered Accordinge to the nature of it selfe, 170 It seemeth free, and altogither voyd Exempted from necessitie of fate. / For two kinds of necessitie there are The first is simple, as necessitie There is, yt every man should mortall be, 175 The other kind is by condic[i]on firme, As if you knowe that any man doth walke, Yt he doth walke is a necessitie. ffor what a man doth understand to be. Cannot be otherwise then it is knowne. 180 But this necessitie condic[i]onall, Simple necessitie doth not infere. For not the prop[er] nature of the thinge But the addic[i]on of condic[i]on Is only cause of such necessitie. 185 For no necessitie constreyneth man To walke, who voluntarily doth goe. Allthough when he doth walke it cannot chuse But of necessitie he needs must walke. / Then in like manner if Gods providence 190 Behouldeth any thinge, in p[re]sent act Of sight, the same is of necessitie, Though no necessitie at all therof In nature prop[er] can therto belonge. But God, those future things wch do proceede

195	From liberty of will, behouldeth all	
	As if they p[re]sent were in action	
	Then to the sight of God, these things referr'd	
	Be necessary, by 43 condic[i]on	
	Of Gods All-seing knowledge, otherwise	
200	Yf by themselves they be considered	
	They do not leave their freedome absolute,	
	W <sup>ch</sup> doth in nature unto them belonge. /	[61 v
	Wherfore undoubtedly all things succeede	
	W <sup>ch</sup> God fore-knoweth to be brought to passe.	
205	But from fre-will some things thereof proceede,	
	W <sup>ch</sup> things allthough they do fall out, and be	
	In tyme effected, yet the property	
	Of nature, they thereby do not forgoe. /	
	Because, before such things did take effect,	
210	It might have ben they had not come to passe.	
	But what are wee the nearer if these things	
	Be made unnecessary, sith they are	
	To come to passe, but the condic[i]on	
	Of divine knowledge, in every respect	
215	As though they were of mere necessity. /	
	Herin this difference is betwen these things	
	As is betwen the things forenamed late	
	Namely the rising Sunne, and walking man,	
	W <sup>ch</sup> acc[i]ons the while y <sup>t</sup> they be done	
220	They cannot chuse but needs they must be done.44 /	
	Yet not w <sup>th</sup> standinge, one of them, before	
	It came to passe, was of necessitie	
	To take effect: the other was not so: /	
	So likewise what God hath before his eies,	
225	W <sup>th</sup> out all controversie beinge hath	
	But of those things, some do descend and springe	
	From the necessitie of things by kind,	
	Others descend from agents facultie.	
	Then not wthout just cause, wee said before	
230	Yf these events have a relac[i]on	
	To Gods all-seeing knowledg, then they are	

<sup>43</sup> by] the deleted after by MS
44 They cannot . . . be done.] interlineated

Things necessary: But considered Accordinge to the nature of them selves They are exempted from constreyning bounds Of all necessitie. As everythinge 235 W<sup>ch</sup> to externall senses doth appeare Yf you the same to reason do referre It universall is, yf you respect The outward senses, it is singuler. / 240 But you will say if it be in my power To alter my intents and purposes I shall make frustrate divine providence When I perhaps shall chaunge what he fore-knew. / I answere you may alter yo[ur] intent [62 r]245 But for as much as p[re]sent certainety Of providence, wch cannot be deceav'd, Behouldeth both how you can chaunge yo[ur] mynd, And also wheth[er] you chaunge yo[ur] intent, Or to what act yo[ur] purpose altereth, 250 You cannot divine prescience avoyd. Like as you cannot flee the p[re]sent sight Of the behouldinge eye of man, althoughe You chaunge yo[ur] selfe to sundry actions Farre differinge, by liberty of will. / 255 What then will you reply shall it be said Y' divine understandinge altereth After my chaunginge disposition, That when I shall desire, now this, now that, It seemes to chaunge his course of knowinge? No. / For sight of God p[re]vents all future things, 260 And doth compell and revocate the same Unto the<sup>45</sup> presence of his knowledge firme. Neith[er] doth he so chaunge as you surmise His courses for to knowe nowe this, now that 265 But in a moment, thy mutations He permanent doth view, and comp[re]hend: W<sup>ch</sup> p[re]sence, all to comp[re]hend and see, God hath not from events of future things, But from his essences simplicitie.

<sup>45</sup> the] "e" deleted after "e" MS

270	From whence yt doubt is also answered,	
	W <sup>ch</sup> you not longe before propounded have.	
	Namely, it were no small indignitie,	
	Yf future things wch mortall men effect	
	Should be affirmed to administer	
275	Or be the cause of knowledge firme of God. /	
	For this effectuall vertue of science	
	By p[re]sent noc[i]on understandinge all,	
	Doth unto all their order constitute,	
	And is not bound unto inferior meanes. /	
280	W <sup>ch</sup> things thus standinge, liberty of will	
	Doth unto mortall men stable remayne.	
	Neith[er] do laws w <sup>th</sup> out iust cause propound	
	Rewards and punishments unto mens wills,	
	W <sup>ch</sup> freed are from all necessity.	
285	There is also a God fore-knowing all	[62 v]
	Who from above behouldeth every thinge. /	
	And his All[-]present sight's eternitie,	
	Concurreth wth the future quality	
	Of o[ur] attempts, distributinge rewards	
290	Unto the good, and punishments to bad.	
	Neither in vaine is hope <sup>46</sup> fixed in God,	
	Nor praie[rs] vaine, w <sup>ch</sup> when they are aright	
	Framed, they cannot uneffectuall	
	Returne in vaine, wherfore abandon vice, <sup>47</sup>	
295	Vertues embrace, to right hope lift your mynd,	
	Humble petic[i]ons direct on highe.	
	No small necessitie on you is lay'd	
	(Unles you will dissemble) to retaine	
	A sincere life, because before the eies	

Finis Lib: ult. [flourish]

Of God the Iudge you worke, who all descries.º /

46 hope] "o" deleted after "o" MS

300

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> wherfore abandon vice] w<sup>ch</sup> when they are aright deleted with wherfore abandon vice inserted above with caret after vaine



## Appendix I

## Bracegirdle's Metrical Forms1

METER	STANZA/RHYME	METRICS		
	Book I			
1	couplets	quantitative meter		
2	ottava rima abababcc	pentameter		
3	quatrains abab	pentameter		
4	heroic couplets	pentameter		
5	nonce stanzas [decastich]  a'b'a'b'c'c'd'e'd'e'	variable length <sup>2</sup>		
6	quatrains abba	pentameter		
7	nonce stanza ab throughout	tetrameter		
Book II				
1	heroic couplets	pentameter		
2	nonce stanzas $a^5a^5b^6b^3a^2$			
	(with interlaced rhymes)	variable length		
3	sestets $a^2b^3c^2a^2b^3c^2$	variable length		
4	sestets ababcc	hexameter		
5	rispetto [heroic] ababccdd	pentameter		
6	sestets abbaab	pentameter		
7	unrhymed [stichic]	quantitative meter		
8	sestets [sextilla] aabccb	pentameter		

<sup>2</sup> Superscripted numbers denote the metrical feet per line, indicating more specifically

Bracegirdle's sometimes complex poetic structures.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See Lewis Turco, The New Book of Forms (London: University Press of New England, 1986). See also Alex Preminger and T.V.F. Brogan, The New Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993).

	Book III		
1	nonce stanzas [decastich] $a^2b^2c^2d^2a^2b^2c^2d^2e^4e^4$	variable length	
2	quatrains abba	pentameter	
3	sestets $a^2b^3c^3a^2b^3c^3$	variable length	
4	sestets [sextilla] aabccb	pentameter	
5	nonce stanzas	1	
	$a^3a^3a^3b^2c^3c^3c^3b^2d^3d^3d^3b^2$	variable length	
6	sestets ababcc	tetrameter	
7	quatrains $a^4b^2c^4b^2$		
	(with internal rhymes)	variable length	
8	nonce stanza ababcdcdefefgg	O	
	(sonnet form)	hexameter	
9	nonce stanza ababbcc		
	(rime royal form)	hexameter	
10	sestets ababcc	pentameter	
11	ottava rima abababcc	pentameter	
12	quatrains $a^5b^2a^5b^2$	variable length	
	Book IV		
1	quatrains abab	tetrameter	
2	nonce stanzas [decastich]		
	$a^5b^5a^5b^5c^5c^5d^2e^3d^2e^3$	variable length	
3	ottava rima abababcc	pentameter	
4	sestets ababcc	pentameter	
5	sestets ababcc	pentameter	
6	sestets abbacc	pentameter	
7	heroic couplets	pentameter	
	D. 1 37		
1	Book V		
2	rime royal <i>ababbcc</i> octaves <i>ababcccb</i>	pentameter	
3	sestets ababcc	tetrameter	
4	sestets ababcc	pentameter	
5	thirteen lines [stichic]	pentameter	
5	(internal rhyme & final couplet)	anantitation	
	(internal risyme & final couplet)	quantitative meter	

## Appendix II

## Selective Glossary

```
bewray: reveal, betray
    (I, p.5, 1; I, p.5, 7; II, p.6, 43; II, p.6, 96)
brage: boast
    (II, p.7, 103)
carkinge: fretting
    (III, m.3, 13)
descrie: espy, make out, discover
    (I, m.7, 42, V, p.6, 300)
disgraded: formally deposed from a higher rank
    (II, p.4, 46)
echins: urchins
    (III, m.8, 7)
guerdon: reward
   (I, p.4, 21; IV, p.1, 46; IV, p.3, 11; IV, p.3, 16; IV, p.3, 24;
   IV, p.3, 49; IV, p.7, 38; IV, m.7, 42)
jar (iar): jaring, clashing
    (II, m.8, 8)
lowringe: sinking, making low
    (I, m.3, 7; II, p.3, 49)
lucre: financial gain
    (I, p.4, 45)
maugre: in spite of
    (I, m.5, 49)
nice (nicenes): foolishness
    (II, p.4, 49; II, p.4, 71; II, p.6, 23)
packe: leave
   (I, p.4, 75)
perpend: ponder
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(V, p.6, 9)

perspicuous: clear, evident

(IV, p.4, 158)

pickthanke: flatterer, tale-bearer

(III, p.4, 17)

put case: let us suppose that

(II, p.7, 109; V, p.4, 36)

scænicall: illusory, theatrical

(I, p.1, 33)

sely (seely): miserable, pitiable

(I, p.1, 8; II, m.7, 12; III, m.8, 1; IV, p.2 174; V, m.5, 2)

suborned: procured unlawfully, purjured

(I, p.4, 67)

surprice: surpress, take away

(II, p.4, 107)

tertian ague: a fever of three days

(III, p.8, 39)

wayne: cart

(IV, m.5, 5)











